The New Drift in Party Politics

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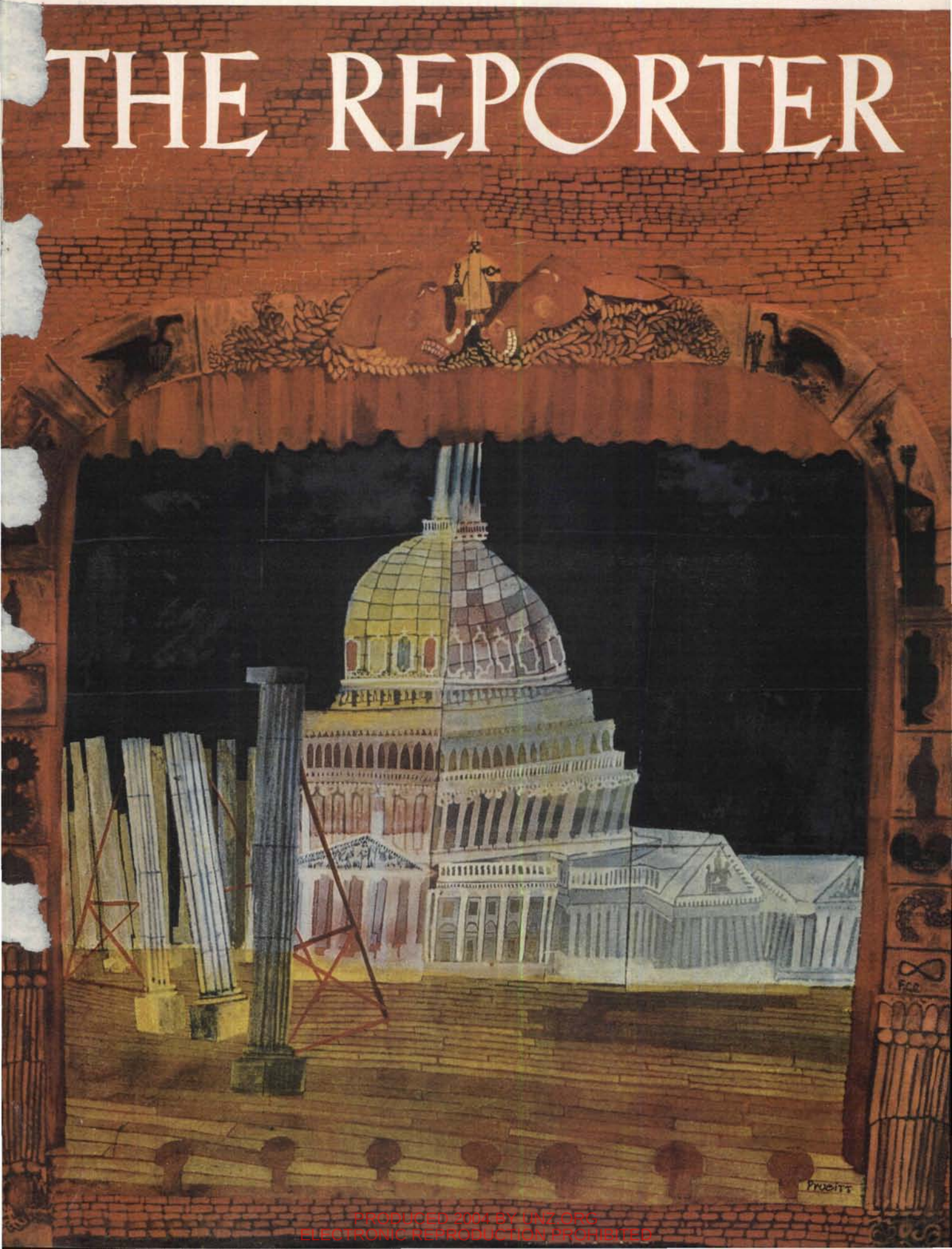

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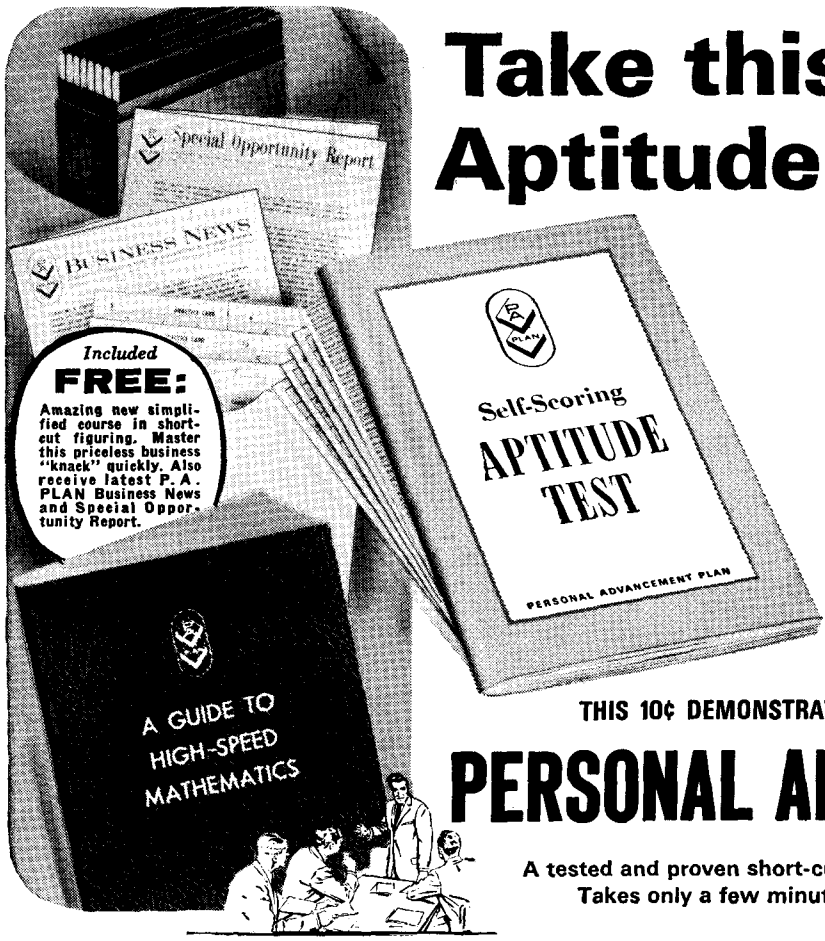
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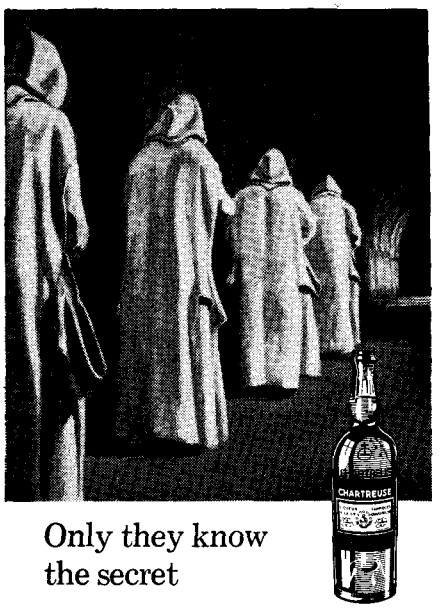

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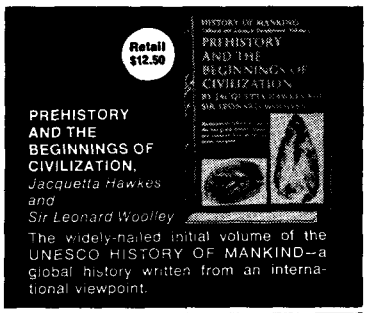
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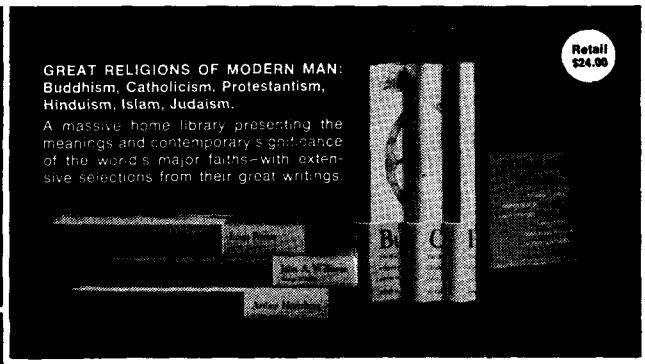
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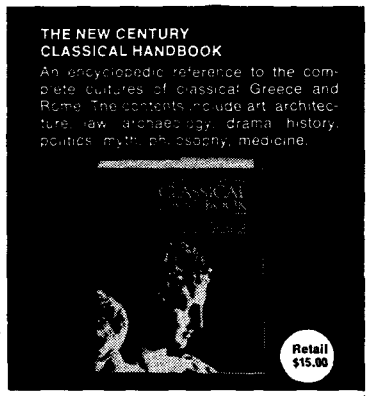
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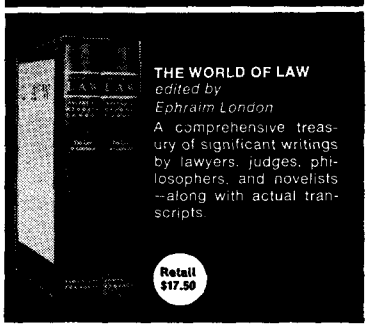
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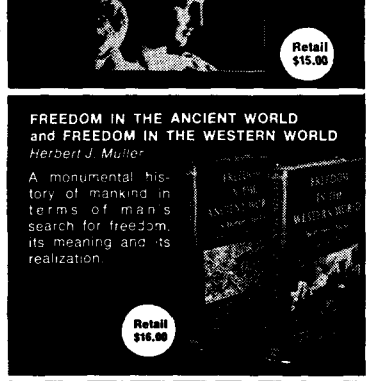
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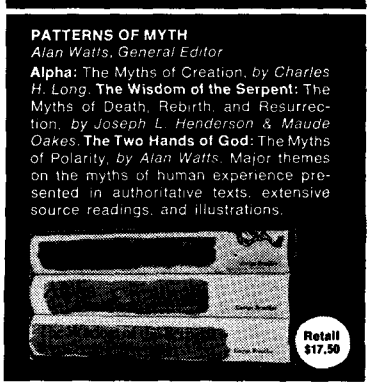
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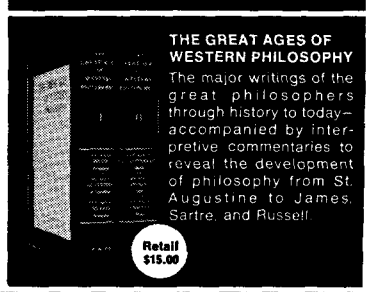
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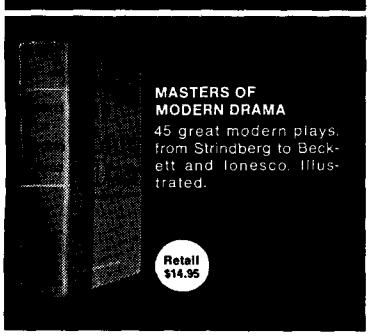

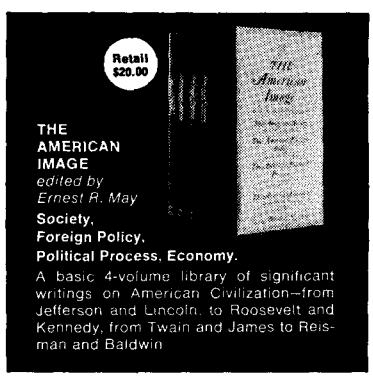
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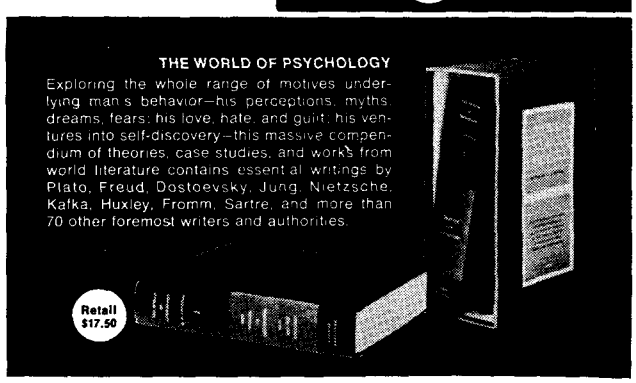
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WHO— WHAT— WHY—

THE POLITICS of the 1960's and most particularly of the coming Presidential election is a deadly serious business, attended to with relentless persistence by a new breed of professional specialists. The pressure of events is changing both the style and the content of party politics in what we are pleased to call western democracy. As **Max Ascoli** points out, the risks we are running are exceptionally great.

President Kennedy has apparently picked Barry Goldwater as his own favorite for the Republican Presidential nomination in 1964, perhaps on the assumption that the Arizona senator would be the easiest opponent to beat. But in the opinion of **Roger D. Masters,** who teaches political theory at Yale, the alliance that is taking shape around Senator Goldwater may have an effect on American politics that lasts well beyond 1964. . . . The thunder is on the Left in Britain, and it is difficult to see how the new prime minister will be able to patch up the disarray in Tory ranks before the next election. Who are these disciplined tacticians who call themselves Socialists, and what would they do if called upon to govern? A British appraisal of the new Labour Party is offered by **E. M. Hugh-Jones,** professor of economics at Keele University.

ALTHOUGH the "Chicken War" has a frivolous-sounding name, there is nothing amusing to be found in the situation confronting U.S. agricultural exports to Europe. A "green revolution" has taken place on the farms of the Common Market countries. Land reform, mechanization, scientific techniques, and new marketing methods are bringing Europe the kind of food production —and surpluses—that have long been typical of U.S. farming. The Chicken War has aroused stiff resistance in Washington, according to **Peter Hendry,** executive editor of the Canadian farm magazine *Family Herald,* because it is seen as the first skirmish in a looming conflict over protectionist tariffs on food imports that are expected to accompany the growth of farm surpluses in Europe. . . . For nearly five years President Rómulo Betancourt of Venezuela has stood firm, while furious blasts from Right and Left sought to bring him down. But Betancourt, whose term ends soon, has done more than survive: he has demonstrated what Latin-American nations can do to meet their pressing economic, social, and political problems when they have freedom and vigorous leadership. **A. A. Berle,** former Assistant Secretary of State for Latin America, has both a personal friendship with President Betancourt and broad experience in Venezuelan problems. . . . California, which seems to have a special role as the originator and test-kitchen of much that is new in American life, has produced three unusual and effective answers to the problems of labor dislocated by automation. **Bruce Bliven,** former editor of the *New Republic* and now a lecturer in journalism at Stanford University, describes these significant developments. . . . As the 1964 campaign warms up we will be hearing more and more about how to achieve the optimum in government by reducing government and cutting costs. **Robert Giles,** a reporter on the *Beacon-Journal* of Akron, Ohio, gives us a picture of how such a policy is faring in practice under Ohio's new governor.

OHIO—with a house for sale in Columbus—is also the background for **James A. Maxwell's** short story, in which a simple misunderstanding spoils more than just an evening. Mr. Maxwell is a free-lance writer of nonfiction as well as fiction. . . . **Fernando Krahn,** a young Chilean artist, makes his second appearance in our pages. . . . **M. L. Rosenthal,** poet, critic, and teacher, is the author of *Modern Poets* (Oxford) and *Primer of Ezra Pound* (Macmillan). . . . **John P. Roche,** who teaches at Brandeis University, is the author of *The Quest for a Dream,* which Macmillan will publish in mid-November. . . . **Elie Abel,** now with NBC in Washington, has lived and worked in Yugoslavia. . . . **Kenneth S. Lynn,** on leave from Harvard, is spending the current academic year at the University of Madrid.

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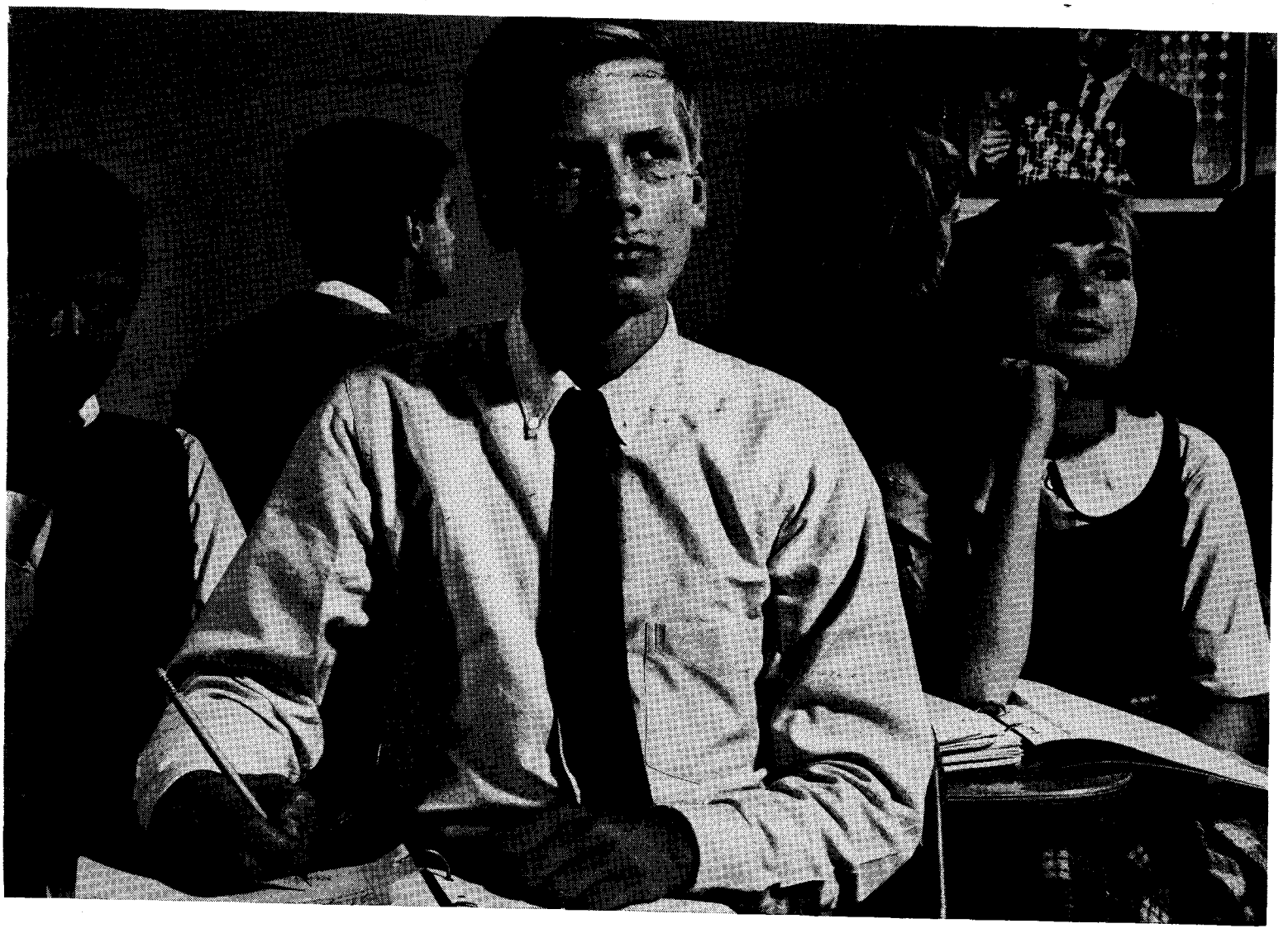

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THE SOUTH

To the Editor: Your plea (in the October 10 editorial "This Negro Revolution") that we in the North should be charitable in judging white Southerners will of course be scorned by those of us who go in too heavily for spectator sports: "Murder the bum! Beat his brains out!" This attitude is not too pretty when expressed by fat men or hysterical women at ringside. Carried far enough it leads to war and in war it is suitably embodied in those who find themselves farthest from the front. We have had our war with the South. If we do not want another we must be charitable, however much that virtue, the greatest of all, may be difficult to practice, and we must attempt, as you say, to convince. I cannot thank you enough for the editorial's wisdom and, may I be forgiven the word, compassion.

GEORGE SMITH
Boston

To the Editor: I do not think it is in any manner wise for us white people who live in the North to be "charitable in judging the superstitions and the fears still prevalent among white Southerners."

Charitable for the white Southern victims of vile customs and teachings —yes. But against the teachings and habitual attitudes of mind themselves, all men of conscience must have a revolutionizing rage. And that rage must acknowledge one's own guilt for failing to insist on justice now, and in the past, and in any time of the future when we still fail to act to eradicate ideas that are damaging to our society.

HELEN M. URBAN
North Hollywood, California

To the Editor: I read "Beyond Tokenism" (*The Reporter*, October 10), by Douglass Cater, with a great deal of interest. I thought it was excellent.

WILLIAM B. HARTSFIELD
Mayor Emeritus
Atlanta

To the Editor: Let us face facts in the North as well as in the South: we here, in the South, may be bigoted from a racial standpoint, but there are those of you in the North who are bigoted from a situational standpoint . . . and preclude comparisons between North and South.

In the same manner that so many Southerners react negatively to the word "Negro," so do you react to the word "Southerner"; in your hearts, you see no more real "progressive" social hope, racialwise (or otherwise), for Southerners than Southerners, in their hearts, feel any social-equalitarian hope for blacks. You make no genuine effort to comprehend the Southerners' situ-

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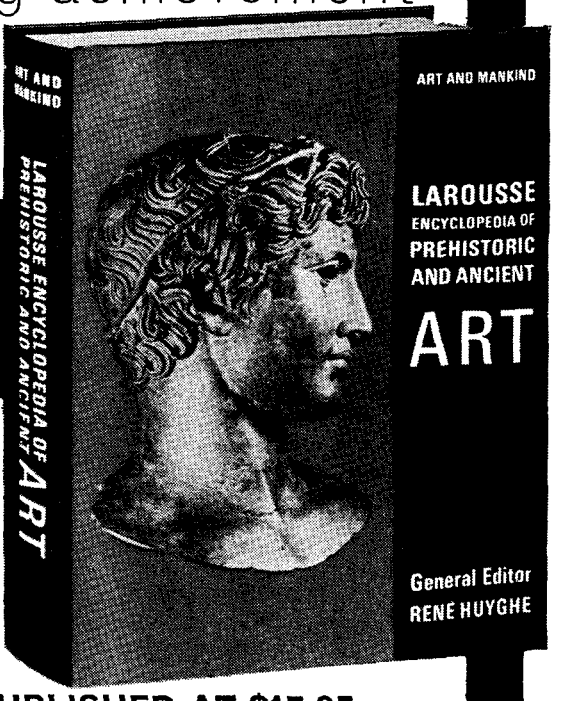
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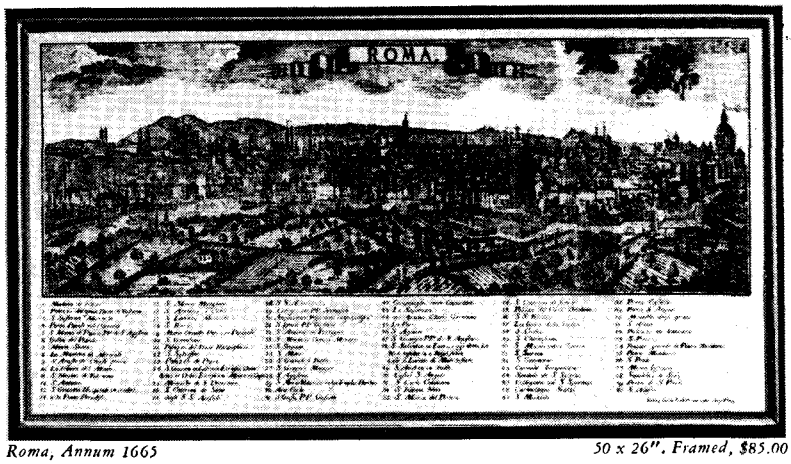

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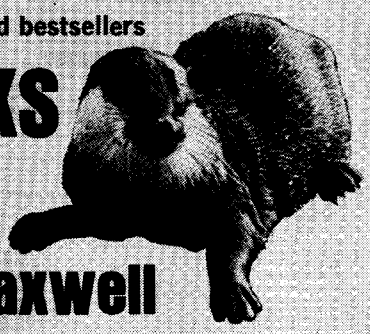

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ational position, and I know that Southerners, en masse, make no such effort to understand the hellish predicament of Negroes.

An impasse on the racial tragedy between the two regions is obvious and will not be eliminated until one of two things has occurred: either, through some almost incredible way, Southerners come to accept Negroes socially or else the Northern region comes to understand, through experience, what the South is confronted with racially.

When the North undergoes its almost predictable racial clashes, I fervently trust we in the South can show more charity and understanding toward Northern whites than they have indicated to us. A day of understanding shall one day come to both regions and to both races, but not the kind of understanding imagined by the short-sighted and pathetically unanalytical liberals.

JIM MCNABB
State College, Mississippi

SAIGON

To the Editor: My compliments on Denis Warner's "Agony in Saigon: The Lady and the Cadaver" (*The Reporter*, October 10). One point, however. Mr. Warner states that a government official was unable to obtain a divorce, and cites this as evidence of the president's close attention to his government. In fact, under the provisions of an act rammed through the legislature by Madame Nhu, Diem is the only authority in the country who can grant divorces.

HOWARD S. WAGNER, JR.
Cincinnati

THE CONGO

To the Editor: I do not propose to comment on the views expressed in the article by Russell Warren Howe ("The Congo: Plugging a Sieve with Pinheads," *The Reporter*, October 10). They are his own and he is entitled to them. I wish, however, to point out that one passage in the article would seem to me to contain an important error of fact.

In referring to the cost of keeping "a U.N. force of five thousand troops at least through the first half of next year," that is, 1964, Mr. Howe is correct in saying that most of this cost will be borne by the United States. We are of course grateful to your great country for the help it is giving to the United Nations in this and other ways. But it is not true, as implied by Mr. Howe, that only Belgium and Britain will also be helping. It is *not* true that "none of the African countries has offered to share in paying the expense." It is *not* true that "The French-speaking African states have contributed nothing except a vague promise of technical assistance." The true position is that the cost of the extended operation is being assessed among all the member countries of the United Na-

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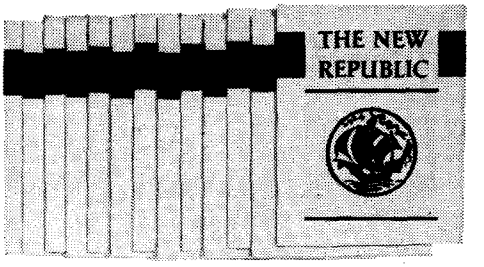

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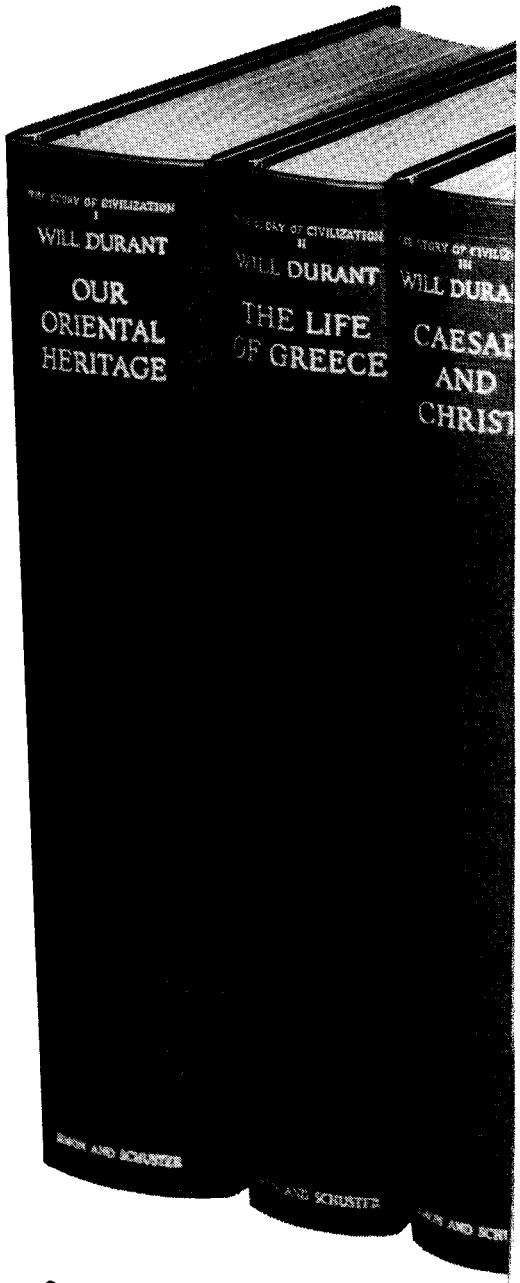

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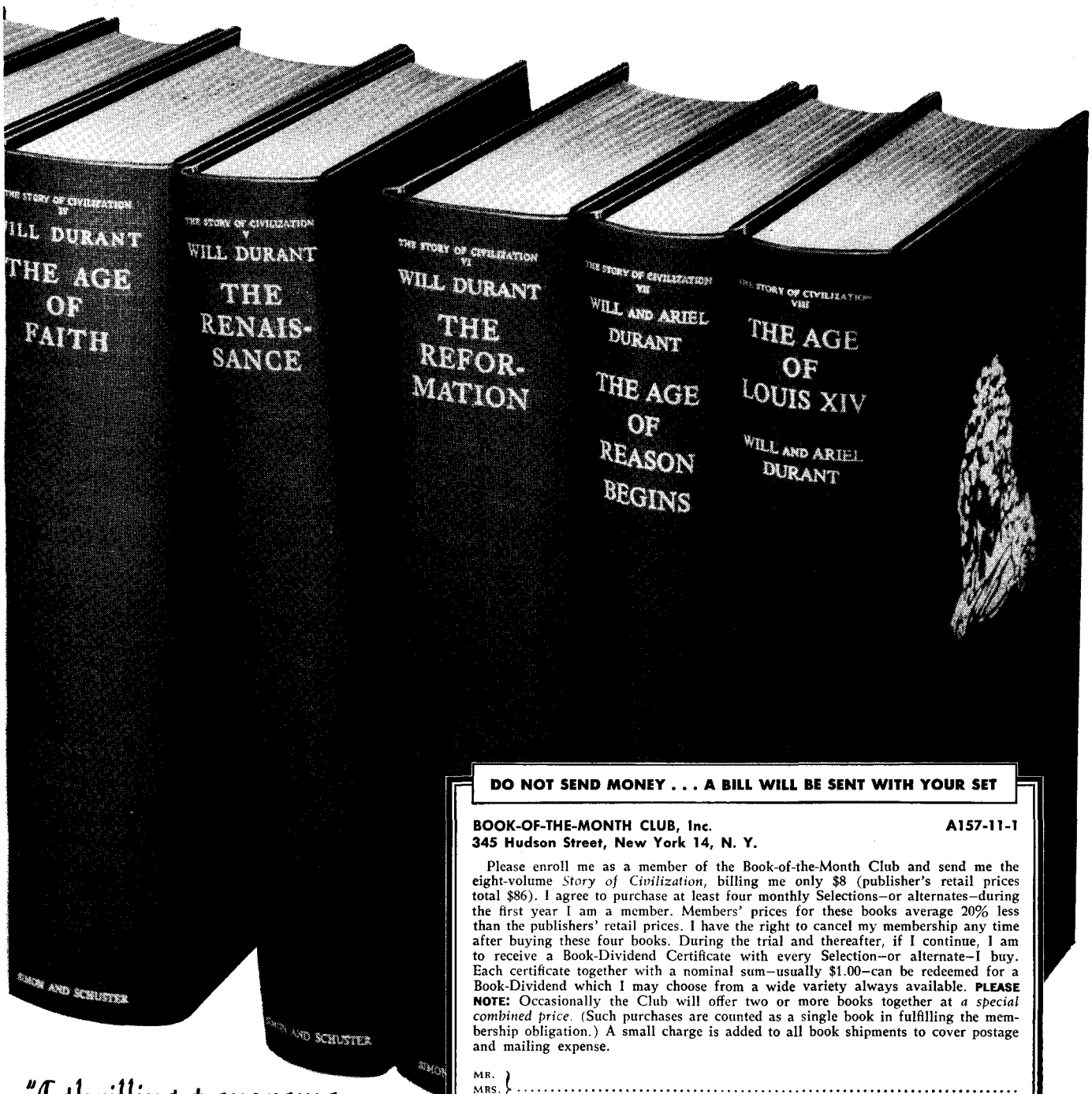

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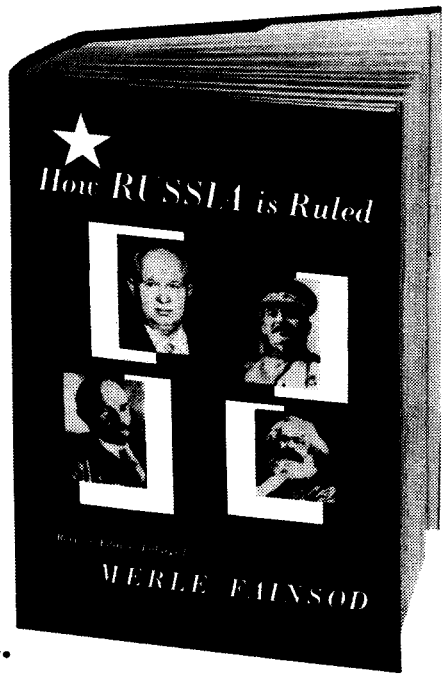

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tions. Many of the African countries have paid in the past their assessments in respect of the Congo operation and are going to pay this additional assessment. Most of the European countries have also paid contributions in the past and we know that they propose to pay their shares of the new assessment. In addition, many of the "developed" countries of Europe, including, but not consisting only of, Belgium and Britain, have also, like the United States, offered to pay voluntary contributions additional to the shares payable by them under the regular budget scale of assessments.

The resolution relating to the fresh assessments has been passed by the appropriate committee of the organization and should be adopted by the plenary meeting within the next few days.

S. O. ADEBO
Permanent Representative
Permanent Mission of Nigeria
to the United Nations

VASSAR, VASSAR EVERYWHERE . . .

To the Editor: I also have read Mary McCarthy's *The Group* ("Should Girls Go to College?" by William Knapp, *The Reporter*, October 10). I disliked it, chiefly because Miss McCarthy appeared to despise most of her characters.

But the language which Mr. Knapp derides as "clichés that would jolt even an editor of . . . a woman's service magazine" is evidence not of slovenliness but of Miss McCarthy's merciless gift for seeming to mirror the commonplace and condemning her characters out of their own mouths.

Actually, she is not "mirroring"—she is being fiendishly selective in her mastery of dramatic exaggeration. It is highly artful, not careless, writing.

ELFREIDA HARTT
Albany, New York

To the Editor: As one Vassar graduate of another—the trouble with Mary McCarthy is, she is so busy being witty that she doesn't use her mother wit. . . . Vassar provides an appropriate development medium for many women, who go on to lead happy, fulfilling lives, but you wonder what happened to poor Mary when you see the children of her mind who proliferate childish conflicts in conspicuous difficulty through her book.

For heaven's sake, don't feel *The Group* represents Vassar attitudes or potentials. May I be the first alumna to announce that I couldn't be bothered to read the kind of stuff your review describes. Miss McCarthy may think she has written a *roman à clef* . . . we alumnae know our friends far better than she . . . and are sure what she has to say is irrelevant to our knowledge. Her talent is great—too bad it hasn't yet fruited.

MARGARET K. HUNT
Chicago

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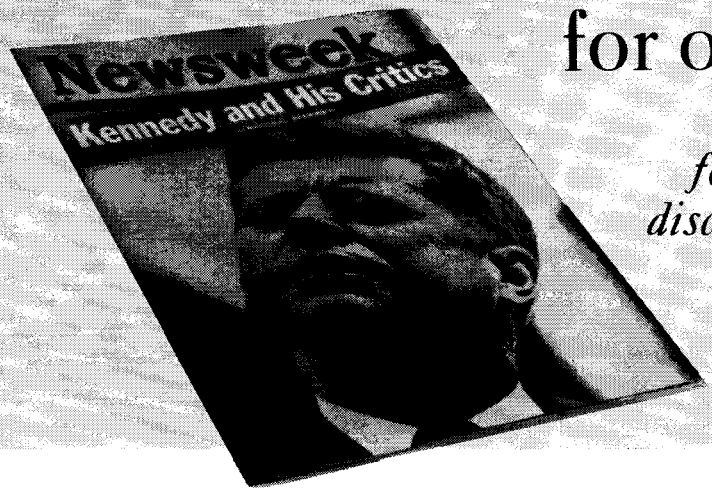

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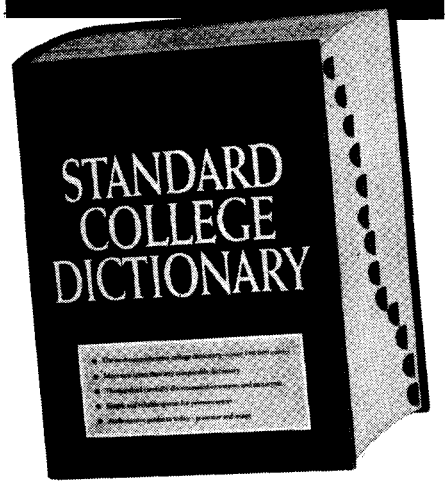

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THE REPORTER'S NOTES

Again the Autobahn

BERLIN

News that the Soviets were detaining an American military convoy on the autobahn linking West Germany with West Berlin was just like old times here, and in Berlin old times have never changed. Despite initial attempts in Washington to depict the harassments on the autobahn as a result of some subaltern misunderstanding, it is clear that the incidents were deliberately staged as a result of a political decision taken at the highest level in Moscow.

Several largely unreported aspects of Soviet actions in detaining the U.S. convoy are in themselves proof of this. Thus when the Soviets stopped Lieutenant Raymond Fields and his column for the second time, at the Babelsberg checkpoint just outside West Berlin, they took the unprecedented action of defying the one-hour time limit the allies have established on clearing procedures. This time limit—a kind of low-level ultimatum, unstated but implicit—is used sparingly and has in the past always been respected by the Soviets. Then when Lieutenant Fields sought to raise the barrier pole, the Soviets not only blocked the path of the U.S. convoy with armored cars but also uncovered their heavy machine guns and trained them on Fields's men. The Russians also kept a mobile anti-aircraft gun trained on the U.S. helicopter that hovered overhead, and even went so far as to send up a MIG fighter in a clumsy and unsuccessful attempt to force the helicopter down or drive it away. All these actions were unprecedented, and their implications have been duly noted by all sides, including the Germans, East and West.

What stands out clearly above the sometimes pettifogging details of harassments on the autobahn is that the Russians have served notice of how thy interpret the new policy of relaxation that has followed the test-ban treaty: under the umbrella of the strategic détente, they apparently mean to increase tactical probes wherever they can.

One likely reason for the latest obstructionist tactics is a Soviet desire to standardize clearing procedures on the autobahn, since this would help grease the skids for a takeover at the checkpoints by Communist East German authorities. It was precisely for this reason that in the past the allies have regarded attempts to standardize clearance procedures on the autobahn as a pitfall to be avoided. In practice, convoys carrying more than a certain fixed number of men have been emptied as a matter of course when a Soviet checking officer so desired. When there were fewer than this number of soldiers they did not dismount, on the assumption that so small a number was easily verifiable from outside the truck. This was all the Soviets knew and all that they needed to know, and they tacitly accepted the arrangement. The number of men in Lieutenant Fields's trucks was three less than the number fixed by the American command and easily verifiable to the outside observer. But the Soviets deliberately challenged it. To the dismay of both allied and German authorities in Berlin, Washington announced the magic number in the course of its protests and explanations to the Soviets. The announcement brought the Soviets one long step closer to standardization.

Moreover, considerable significance must be attached to the fact that one observer of Lieutenant Fields's difficulties at Babelsberg was Major General Helmut Poppe, the East German Communist commandant of the Soviet sector of Berlin.

In a practical sense, the clearance procedures have now been reduced to a point where the East German officers on hand can check the con-

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Big Doings For Little People

This Sunday evening (November 3) at 6, the biggest man on television will be a chap named Hunder.

That's no mere prediction; it's a fact. For Hunder is taller than a church steeple, broader than a boulevard.

The Human Factor

He's also the only human performer in the otherwise all-puppet cast of "Quillow and the Giant," a musical fantasy produced and directed by David Barnhizer.

The show—a fine sample of "entertainment education"—is the first of four "NBC Children's Theatre" specials. Executive producer George A. Heinemann's series is aimed at giving the four-to-seven set several distinct varieties of theatrical experience. Like the highly acclaimed "Exploring" and "Watch Mr. Wizard," the specials typify NBC's thoughtful, imaginative programs for young viewers.

Opening the series is Biff McGuire's television adaptation of the James Thurber fantasy in which an ingenious little character named Quillow saves his townspeople from the ire of an invading giant, Hunder.

The musical—generously laden with suspense, humor, visual charm and the catchiest songs this side of Mitch Miller—also teaches a valuable lesson: the wisdom of using brains rather than brawn when the physical odds are overwhelming.

Quillow's technique is psychological warfare. Eventually, the giant—played superbly by actor-singer Win Stracke—becomes so distraught that he disappears in a puff of smoke.

In the course of the action, a total of 17 George Latshaw puppets will—by means of an unusual under-stage technique—move freely through the village's residences, shops and streets.

And, behind the scenes, the 32-piece NBC Chicago Orchestra under Joseph Gallichio, will be playing the highly original score of Wade Barnes and Ralph Blane (the latter co-authored the tunes for "Best Foot Forward" and "Meet Me in St. Louis.")

"Children's Theatre's" next outing comes on December 15, when it will be using a number of fascinating dramatic devices to familiarize the youngsters with the workings of "The Orchestra." (On the program's second half, a performance of Prokofiev's "Cinderella" will be illustrated by the highly creative Lisl Weil).

Then, on April 12, the musical fantasy, "Petey and the Pogo Stick" will trace the round-the-world travels of a boy inventor who's designed an atomic-powered pogo stick. Finally, on February 15, the series will present a trio of playlets aimed at introducing youngsters to three of the most popular forms of non-musical theatre—mystery, comedy and historical drama.

Help from Home

Each of the carefully prepared, full-hour shows calls for the mental and physical participation of its young viewers, an element NBC considers essential in programming for the four-to-seven fraternity. Even the wily Quillow will require a loud vocal assist from the home audience before he can overcome the giant. It could turn out to be the most thunderous audience response since Mary Martin last asked for a vote of confidence in fairies.

NBC

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voys as easily as the Soviets. In a larger and more important sense, the Soviet move was a power demonstration in support of the sovereignty claims of the so-called German Democratic Republic.

On October 12, the day the Soviets released the American convoy, Major General Poppe addressed identical telegrams through the West German mails to the three allied commandants in West Berlin, sharply protesting the conduct of allied military personnel while on official missions in East Berlin. For some time now, before as well as after the autobahn incidents, East German press attacks against the allied occupiers have been stepped up sharply. Indeed, Berliners could not help but notice that the situation in East Germany and around Berlin has grown markedly more tense since the advent of the policy of relaxation. The supreme irony is that it was the atomic test-ban treaty that was indirectly responsible for the increase in tension. The Chinese have repeatedly accused the Soviets of selling their East German allies down the river for the sake of an agreement with the Americans. This accusation has stung East German Communists to the quick and necessitated defensive harangues in explanation of the unexplainable even within the party's central committee. It also clearly necessitated some sort of Soviet power demonstration concerning Berlin. For the most vital interest of the East German Communists is the removal of allied troops from Berlin and the conversion of the allied sectors into a demilitarized, defenseless city.

—GEORGE BAILEY

The Social Climber

Marshal Tito's trips abroad have always been marked by a kind of devil-may-care spirit of adventure, and we are happy to note that his recent state visit to the U.S. was no exception, despite the best efforts of the White House, the Secret Service, the FBI, and the New York City Police Department. There was, for instance, the time in the 1930's when a Danish immigration officer caught Tito in Copenhagen traveling from Moscow on a forged Canadian passport. The amiable Dane let the miscreant off with an admonition to travel in the future only on passports from countries whose language he could speak.

Tito seems to have taken this particular advice to heart, but adventure has continued to dog his trail abroad nonetheless.

During the Second World War, Tito journeyed to Naples for a meeting with Winston Churchill. He showed up in a gaudy and oversized Soviet-made marshal's uniform, and vehemently denied that he planned to impose Communism on Yugoslavia after the war. Then Tito returned to his cave on the British-held island of Vis. From Vis, he levanted back to the mainland without so much as a by-your-leave from his British hosts, and the Russians maliciously told the British that Tito's graceless behavior could be attributed to his superstitious peasant upbringing.

His next recorded excursion abroad was to Moscow for a chat with Comrade Joseph Stalin. Tito was a trifle uneasy about this trip, since implicit in any invitation from Stalin was a suggestion that the traveler might not return. In this instance Tito came safely home; later Stalin airily informed Tito's aide Milovan Djilas that Yugoslavia might grab Albania any time it liked. This demonstration of Stalinist liberality reportedly shocked Tito, and it may have been the incident that made him realize that the Soviet Union, in turn, could grab Yugoslavia.

His travels, then, have been demonstrably edifying for Marshal Tito, and we like to think that his first formal visit to the United States furthered this process. It can hardly have been otherwise, since the White House, ever skittish over the possibility that some photographer might catch the President and the Marshal exuding bonhomie, plotted Tito's trip with the same kind of meticulous precision that marked the logistic preparations for the invasion of Normandy. Tito was set down at Colonial Williamsburg, whisked by helicopter to the White House, and led pell-mell through a six-hour visit that managed to include a twenty-one-gun salute, a tour of the premises, a talk with the President (who carefully seated himself far across the table from his guest),

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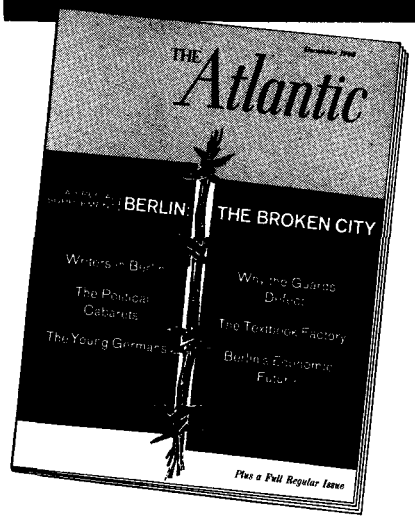

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lunch with champagne toasts, and the issuance of a formal communiqué. Just how Tito managed to survive this program without an earache, dyspepsia, or both is problematical; he *did* fall ill with a touch of the flu two days later, and was still shaky on arriving in New York.

Thank God for New York! It has a leavening quality that few fail to note. In Marshal Tito's case this was provided by outraged Yugoslav émigrés who demonstrated outside Tito's hotel, and more pointedly by two young Yugoslavs who managed to get within two doors to Tito's suite before they were collared by the cops. This produced an angry blast by Tito at the cops, an angry blast back from the cops, and a decision by Tito to cancel a reception for twelve hundred guests. Tito seemed baffled that *any* dissident Yugoslavs were around town. The dissidents in Yugoslavia are all in jail.

What is troubling about this tale of Tito in two cities is that the treatment accorded him by the White House had a definite and unnecessary quality of furtiveness.

After all, Tito is used to the idea that he is not everywhere socially acceptable. This is nowhere more true than in Austria. Tito was born a subject of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and worked as a youth in a mechanic's shop in Wiener Neustadt, a few miles outside Vienna. His main ambition is to one day be a state guest in the Imperial Palace of the Habsburgs in Vienna. But that day may be a long time coming, because some members of the present Austrian government were also subjects of Franz Josef. Their objections seem to be social rather than political. "That mechanic," one has said, "will never be a guest in the palace of the Habsburgs while I am alive!" This may be another case of being right for the wrong reason, but at least the reason is forthright.

No Tears

The natural reluctance to speak ill of the dead surely accounts in large measure for all the silly solemnity that has surrounded the shattering of the New York *Mirror*. A relative newcomer to the city, Richard M. Nixon, who has been known to speak more frankly on the subject of journalism, must be given the prize for pious inanity on this subject; he called the loss of the *Mirror* "a great tragedy."

Except for the men and women who lost their jobs, it was, of course, no such thing. And despite all the moaning, the departure of a tabloid that was tawdry even by Hearst standards offers no evil omens whatsoever for the future of American newspapers. The *Mirror*, let's not forget, was not really a newspaper at all, and was never intended to be. What it offered, according to its own prospectus, was entertainment—and even on that level it was always a pale imitation of the *News*, which also contains a good deal of the commodity from which it derives its name. (One survey showed that eight out of every ten *Mirror* readers were also *News* readers anyway.) "The *Mirror*," as Gardner Cowles remarked, "was essentially entertainment, and the entertainment business has moved to TV." Mr. Cowles, one of our few press monarchs whose empire is expanding rather than contracting these days, also said, "Big city dailies that cover hard news well will face no great difficulties in coming years." He may have a point. Throughout the country there are actually a few more daily newspapers, with a great deal more circulation, now than there were just after the war.

The figures in themselves prove nothing about quality, of course. As we see it, competition is only to be admired when it is competition in service to the readers, not in mere circulation building by the most sensational devices that can be dreamed up. Furthermore, most of the increase has been in small suburban dailies put out by inadequate staffs with the help of a lot of syndicated boilerplate copy. But it is interesting to note that six months after the New York newspaper strike, which has apparently cut over-all circulation of all daily city papers by about half a million, the *Times* has lost only 11.4 per cent of its readers—and is said to be gaining—even after going from five to ten cents.

The *Times* may only be the best paper in town by default. But apparently people are still willing to pay for the best they can get—if not for what is superfluous.

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Some programs of special interest

Go Down, Moses
Harriet Tubman's work with the Underground Railroad before the Civil War.
Friday, November 1 (7:30-8:30 PM)

Directions in Israel
Last in 5-part study of Israeli art and culture.
Sunday, November 3 (1-1:30 PM)

Quillow and the Giant
Puppets enact a musical adaptation of a Thurber fantasy.
Sunday, November 3 (6-7 PM)

Four Views of Caesar
Julius Caesar as seen by Plutarch, Shakespeare, Shaw, and himself.
Wednesday, November 6 (7:30-8 PM)

The Great War
A re-creation of the World War I era.
Sunday, November 10 (3-4 PM)

The Road to Berlin
Report on causes of the continuing crisis.
Sunday, November 10 (6-6:30 PM)

Calamity Jane
Carol Burnett in the musical comedy set in the Old West.
Tuesday, November 12 (9:30-11 PM)

The Patriots
Charlton Heston as Thomas Jefferson in the play by Sidney Kingsley.
Friday, November 15 (9:30-11 PM)

Greece: The Golden Age
An evocation by Lou Hazam of the glory that was Greece.
Tuesday, November 19 (9-10 PM)

That War in Korea
A *Project 20* study of "the strangest war ever fought by man."
Wednesday, November 20 (7:30-9 PM)

The Festival Frenzy
Excitement and pageantry—from bulls at Pamplona to starlets at Venice.
Wednesday, November 20 (10-11 PM)

Thanksgiving Day Parades
Thursday, November 28 (10 AM-Noon)

Young People's Concert
Bernstein and N. Y. Philharmonic.
Friday, November 29 (7:30-8:30 PM)

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Regularly scheduled programs

Monday to Friday: Today/Sunrise Semester

Wednesdays: CBS Reports/Chronicle

Fridays: The Great Adventure

Saturdays: Do You Know?/Exploring/ Watch Mr. Wizard

Sundays: Sunrise Semester/Camera Three/ Discovery '63/Face the Nation/Issues and Answers/NBC News Encore/Sunday/Wild Kingdom/College Bowl/The Twentieth Century/Meet the Press/Walt Disney's Wonderful World of Color/ ABC News Reports

NOTE: Times (EST), programs, titles, and casts are subject to change. Please consult local listings.

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MAX ASCOLI

Fasten Your Seat Belts

It is going to be tough, this Presidential campaign, tough as few in our national history. The dazzling skill of the Kennedy administration in manipulating its image, the contrived style of its rhetoric, have aroused in a still uncounted number of people a primitive and elemental antagonism. So primitive and elemental, indeed, that it must sometimes frighten Barry Goldwater, a right-wing maverick from the Southwest, whose anti-modern-times cracks have become the Word for masses of fanatical followers. It has been reported that the poor man has delegated to machines the task of putting some order and maybe some logic into what he has been saying. But the machines have come too late to the rescue, since the cause of his popularity is the fact that he is so unmachinelike, so contradictory and unmodern. He looks and sounds much more like a man than an image.

After the senator himself, the person who has shown the keenest interest in Goldwater for the Republican nomination is President Kennedy. As a politician he likes a fairly safe bet, and as the Chief Executive during the last three years, he must cherish as an evidence of his achievement the prospect of confronting Goldwater in the election. For it has been no mean feat so to mollify the opposition against him, so to restrain Congressional and press criticism of his policies, that the alternative to him is a total reversal of American history from the first Roosevelt on. The New Frontiersmen have really achieved something; without being in any conceivable sense of the term radicals, they have rallied against themselves an old radicalism irreconcilably antagonistic to the domestic and foreign policies this country must follow if it is to hold its place in the second half of the twentieth century. Could the New Frontiersmen face the people with more secure prospects of victory?

Perhaps. But the price the country will have to pay for such a clash could be extraordinarily high, irrespective of the outcome. There could be no dialogue between the two sides, for there cannot be much of a debate between believers in a return to nineteenth-century America on one side and operators on the other —people far more concerned with what they call getting things done than with general principles or ideals. True, it is the tradition of American politics that, in the competition for votes, the sharpest differences get smoothed out on both sides. But the President seems to be counting on a confrontation with zealots of the extreme Right, which would forcibly bring to his support all those who at times have been disappointed with him or with his entourage. Moreover, with all his primitivism, Goldwater is an honest man, and he is likely to go on to the end of the contest talking like Goldwater.

The President, too, it can safely be predicted, is likely to go on talking like Kennedy, with his rhythmic, balanced sentences, and the contraposition of extremes (dread of war, hope for peace), assuaged by an inspirational phrase, like, for instance, "make the world safe for diversity." This one we could never quite grasp, and for a while we waited for a correction, thinking it might be "make diversity safe for the world." But the same theme kept recurring, and any day we expect to be told that our country's role in history is to foster a more perfect diversity.

These oratorical mannerisms would be easier to endure were it not, again, that the electoral season is upon us and we must count on hearing more and more of them. We can count on still undreamed-of feats of electronic wizardry on one side and howls of elemental emotionalism on the other, as we can expect, if Goldwater is nominated, two monologues by competitors who have no way of talking to one another.

Among the electronic treats waiting for us, we can count on a number of re-enactments of the recent past. The New Frontiersmen specialize in this. They are far more concerned with the immediate yesterday than with the tomorrow; no sooner have they written a page of history than they get busy re-enacting and editing it. We have in mind the ABC spectacular on the encounter with Governor Wallace at the University of Alabama. One shudders at the thought of the miles and miles of tape already stored that, some day, will be cut and spliced so as to give the viewer the sense of immediate participation in the epoch-making events with which he is retroactively associated.

A distance between the citizens and their leaders is needed if the leaders are to be held solely responsible for the decisions they make. There is nothing gained in a democracy by too much chumminess between leaders and citizens; in fact, there is no more certain guarantee of unbridgeable distance between citizens and leaders than the delusion of chumminess.

Yes, it is going to be tough and particularly for those whose business it is to pass judgment on public events and feel that their primary obligation is to their own conscience. This looks like one of those occasions when whoever claims to be independent and cares for freedom has a chance to be tested.

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Realignment on the Right

ROGER D. MASTERS

BARRY GOLDWATER, it has been said, could be elected President in 1964 by carrying the South, the Midwest, the Mountain States, and one or two of the industrial states (e.g., Ohio, Michigan, Pennsylvania) that have Republican governors.

Is it true, as Governor Rockefeller argues, that such a strategy is doomed to defeat? President Kennedy apparently holds a commanding lead over all Republican contenders in every region except the South. In recent Gallup Polls, voters have been asked their preferences should Kennedy oppose Goldwater, Rockefeller, or Romney. Only in the South did a majority consistently prefer Goldwater to Kennedy *and* to any other Republican.

Although a Goldwater candidacy seems doomed to failure in 1964 because of the regional limits of his appeal, his popularity in the South may have totally different implications. Goldwater's long-range goal appears to be the formation of a conservative party composed of Republicans and Southern Democrats; since such a party might gain a majority by 1968, the real question is not whether Goldwater can win in 1964 but whether a fundamental realignment of American political parties is in the offing.

WHILE our two-party system has been relatively stable for a century, there have been periodic changes in the sections and interests that tend to identify themselves as Democratic or Republican. Some political scientists have identified the emergence of new partisan alignments with specific Presidential elections, which V. O. Key of Harvard called "critical elections." Broadly stated, a critical election occurs when a new pattern of issues cuts across the established coalitions that make up the two major parties; when this happens, a major segment of each party changes sides, producing a new orientation for both parties.

For example, the coalition of the South, the urbanized East, and the Far West in the Democratic Party can be shown to have emerged in the elections of 1928 and 1932; at that time, formerly Republican workers and ethnic groups became Democratic, while farmers and rural interests, a basic element in the Democratic Party since Bryan, shifted to the Republicans. Similarly, there were critical elections in 1892 and 1896, when the Republican Party attracted the support of former Democrats to create a new alliance between workers and business interests. Following the critical elections of 1896 and 1932 came long periods of one-party dominance, in each case broken for two terms by the opposition—by the Democrats under Wilson and by the Republicans under Eisenhower. The Republican Party itself would seem to owe its existence to critical elections in 1856 and 1860.

Although it would be absurd to predict critical elections in 1964 and 1968 solely because thirty-six years intervened between the pairs of such elections in 1856-1860, 1892-1896, and 1928-1932, there are good reasons for expecting a reorientation of party identification in the near future. The privileges of seniority and patronage, a tacit Southern veto over Democratic Presidential nominees, and a common orientation on foreign policy have hitherto kept the Democratic Party together. Now, however, the impact of three basic issues—civil rights, the role of the Federal government, and foreign affairs—may cause the breakup of this Democratic coalition and the ascendancy of a conservative Republican Party in the South.

Civil Rights

Since the Supreme Court's desegregation decision, radical demands for equal educational and economic opportunities for Negroes have multiplied in the North as well as in the South. The resulting civil-rights issue, which alienates Southerners from the Democratic Party, serves to make the Republican Party as a whole more attractive as a possible focus for opposition to extreme Negro demands.

Outside the South, Negro discontent has a curious political effect: as national policy, few responsible politicians support segregation or racial inequalities; in local issues, conditions that Negroes consider to be *de facto* segregation or discrimination are defended as legitimate by those who feel threatened. Thus the relative absence of Negroes in many trades and occupations is defended in terms of job seniority and equality of opportunity for white workers;

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restricted access to housing is justified in order to maintain property values; and all-white school districts are defended as the natural outgrowth of neighborhood schools, which are necessary for the maintenance of quality in public education.

To a considerable extent Republican strength has long been based upon the middle classes, whose members feel that integration threatens the value of their property and the excellence of their schools. Although Eastern Republicans have often taken a strong position on civil rights, many Republicans believe that the rights to local self-government and private property imply a moderate stand on Federal laws intended to secure equality. For example, to the extent that Republicans consider property rights to be more fundamental than the right to equal service in restaurants and hotels, an alliance of Republicans and Southern Democrats against a strong Public Accommodations Act seems very likely.

The civil-rights issue will do more than encourage a conservative voting alignment in Congress. For Southerners, the integration of public schools and facilities has been a traumatic event; the fundamental political effects of the civil-rights issue will be felt only when voters respond to the experience of successful integration. Governor George Wallace of Alabama well knows that he cannot permanently prevent integration ordered by the courts; on the contrary, his true objective has been to force the Federal government to intervene in every instance where it is achieved. Thus the drive for desegregation has often been seen in the South as, in part, a Constitutional issue—an issue on which many Republicans can agree with Southerners since both fear the encroachment of the national government on states' rights, local prerogatives, and private freedoms.

The Federal Role

Skepticism toward the government's control of the economy and its welfare measures, like opposition to Federal intervention in support of Negro rights, reinforces conservative desires for a realignment of political parties. The defense of fiscal responsibility, fear of compulsory arbitration in labor disputes, opposition to the expansion of social-welfare programs, concern over the size of the national debt, and many other parallel issues tend to align conservatives regardless of party.

The general acceptance of Keynesian economics and of governmental responsibility to ensure economic growth and full employment represents a fundamental change in American traditions that is feared by many conservatives. In the past, governmental regulation of the excesses of private competition was usually accomplished by independent regulatory agencies like the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Federal Power Commission, and the Federal Communications Commission. Today these commissions are often seen as defenders of the interests they supposedly regulate; public policy tends to acquire continuing supervision of the normal economic life of the country.

As was revealed by President Kennedy's successful attempts to prevent an inflationary increase in steel prices and a nationwide railroad strike, there is broad public support for governmental intervention to prevent those major decisions by private enterprise which seem incompatible with the stable functioning of the economy.

This tendency poses a real problem that underlies the often fruitless debates on the size of governmental spending. It may be true, as some economists have pointed out, that the public sector of our economy (excluding military expenditures) has consumed a relatively stable proportion of our gross national product throughout this century. Even so, the effects of the massive size of our government pose a legitimate political issue, especially when administrative decisions by a Secretary of Defense have as large an economic impact as did Mr. McNamara's cancellation of Skybolt and award of the TFX contract.

The existence of a coherent group that fears increased governmental intervention in economic and social affairs is therefore not likely to be avoided by bringing knowledge of our economy up to date, as President Kennedy seemed to hope in his commencement address at Yale in 1962. And it is fairly obvious that those most opposed to divergences from the stereotype of nineteenth-century America form an identifiable conservative group that cuts across party lines.

Foreign Affairs

Although leading politicians of both parties have long supported the concept of a bipartisan foreign policy, the fundamental orientation and goals of American foreign policy could well become a bitter political issue in the near future. The existence of the Castro régime, the ratification of the test-ban treaty, and increased trade with the Soviet Union are, potentially, subjects of sharp partisan disagreement.

The changes required to relax international tension, like those arising in domestic politics, are greeted with hope and fear: hope that new responses to new problems will improve the lot of man; fear that changes from established ways of acting will fundamentally weaken if not destroy the American way of life. Although it is easy to treat opposition to the test ban as ultraconservative anti-Communism, many sober people also see risks in agreements with the Soviet Union as long as Communist goals remain hostile to western democracy.

Foreign policy thus tends to produce a division, parallel to domestic political cleavages, between opponents and supporters of recent changes in our attitude toward Russian Communism and the cold war. The leading critics of the limited test-ban treaty—Senators Goldwater, Russell of Georgia, and Thurmond of South Carolina—represent precisely that alliance of conservative Republicans and Southern Democrats which is also found on many domestic issues.

Because the conservative opposition had little prospect of blocking ratification of the test ban, it was most significant as an attempt to establish an alternative to the foreign policy of the present administration. Should the treaty be abrogated, those who voted against it will be well placed to launch a bitter attack on the "Strategy of Peace." Even if the test ban is not broken, all one need assume is the loss of South Vietnam or Laos in combination with a successful Communist revolution in any Latin-American country,

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and the likelihood of a violent foreign-policy debate in the coming elections becomes very great.

A Clear-cut Catastrophe?

Even granting parallel cleavages between conservative and liberal opinion on the issues just mentioned, it may be objected that American political parties have always cut across fundamental distinctions. Is there any evidence, then, that the Republicans are about to become a Grand New Party? And if so, would such a realignment necessarily be dangerous to the country's welfare, or would it not be a step toward what many have called a "more responsible" two-party system, in which issues would be clarified?

A number of recent trends increase the probability that the parallel impact of current issues will lead to a realignment of American political parties. The alienation of Southern Democrats from the rest of their party has been reinforced by the tendency of many Northern Democrats to appeal to the Negro vote. At the same time, Republicans have established more effective local party organization in some parts of the South, often using a conservative orientation to appeal to discontented Democrats.

Within the Republican Party, conservative disaffection with the dominance of Eastern Republicans is greater now than at any time since 1952; according to recent polls, Goldwater is the most popular candidate among the Republican rank and file. Finally, the Supreme Court decisions on apportionment and prayers in public schools have threatened the position of rural interests and exacerbated opposition to liberalism. All these factors have encouraged those who seek a more permanent coalition of conservative Republicans and Southern Democrats.

To be sure, various actions of the present administration appear to check the trend toward a reorientation of the party coalitions. Mr. Kennedy has made no effort to purge conservative Southern Democrats, but on the contrary has often seemed to compromise with them (as is illustrated by his refusal to oppose the nomination of Representative John Young of Texas to the House Rules Committee). Liberal criticism of Kennedy's lack of leadership has often ignored the danger of irretrievably splitting the Democratic Party—a danger that the President has clearly perceived to be a potential threat to his re-election.

It is doubtful, however, whether President Kennedy's actions can prevent Southern Democrats from entering into a lasting electoral alliance with conservative Republicans by 1968. The current coalitions within the two major parties would be most likely to persist if Governor Rockefeller were victorious or Senator Goldwater were overwhelmingly defeated in 1964, but each of these outcomes is unlikely.

As is shown by recent polls, Kennedy's popularity (even granted the civil-rights issue) and Rockefeller's divorce make the latter's election improbable. And if Goldwater is nominated in 1964, is he apt to be defeated by such a landslide that the

conservative wing of the Republican Party would be thoroughly discredited? Even if Goldwater were to carry only the Midwest, the Southwest, and part of the South, he would be in a strong position to run again in 1968.

Should Rockefeller and Goldwater be deadlocked, the next Republican nominee—be he Romney, Scranton, or Thruston B. Morton—will be a compromise candidate who is unlikely to give the party lasting control and direction; in this case it would be only a matter of time until Goldwater supporters tried to take over the party.

This situation presents the Democrats with a dilemma. Regardless of the Republican candidate in 1964, Kennedy is likely to appeal most strongly to urban voters outside the South and to the Negroes. A strategy of making the most of this appeal will drive Southerners out of the party, but even moderation may not prevent this outcome—and continued Negro dissatisfaction could produce dangerous abstentions in closely contested states. If forced to choose an extremely liberal stand, the Democrats can hope to attain overwhelming majorities in the East and Far West, but these alone would not assure victory should a conservative ticket realize its greatest possible success.

By 1968, therefore, a sectional reorientation of American politics would probably place the fate of the Presidential election in the hands of the farm vote. Democrats could appeal to farmers on the basis of continued price-support programs; a conservative party would emphasize the free-enterprise ethic in attacking liberal Democrats. Goldwater's ideology would create definite problems for the conservatives (since farmers would be cross-pressured by the contradiction of economic self-interest and political tradition), but it is by no means certain which way the rural vote would go. Hence either of the realigned parties could hope to win; all that is certain is that such a realignment would produce a sharp political division.

A Break with the Past

Some observers will admit that a realignment of parties is likely, but would agree with the conclusion of Senator Russell of Georgia: "I think events are hastening the day," he said recently on *Meet the Press,* and "I don't know that it would be too bad a thing for the country to clear the air." There seems to be a widespread feeling that it would be a good thing if all issues were posed squarely and consistently. Walter Lippmann, for example, once suggested that a Kennedy-Goldwater campaign would clarify current political debate.

Considering that critical elections are a recurring phenomenon in American politics, a new partisan alignment might seem to be a desirable way of making political choices more meaningful. There are, however, good reasons to doubt the

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advantages of a reorientation of parties at the present time.

The main danger of a realignment arises from the character of current political issues. As parallel cleavages are produced between those who favor and those who feel threatened by new approaches to civil rights, economic regulation, and foreign affairs, the cumulative pressure of these issues leads each side to defend its position lest the basic character of our government be destroyed. Hence the reorientation of American parties, should it occur in the 1960's, would be more fundamental than in past critical elections.

Simply put, the result of critical elections in 1964 or 1968 may well be the emergence of political parties more emotionally opposed to each other than in the past. Political conflict will tend to be reduced, on every issue, to elemental themes. Foreign-policy issues—firmness or conciliation toward Communism—and domestic issues will be equated and identified with each other. The assertion that supporters of integration are in league with the Communists (now an extremist position that Northerners ridicule when put forth by Governor Wallace or Senator Thurmond) will become the model of political debate.

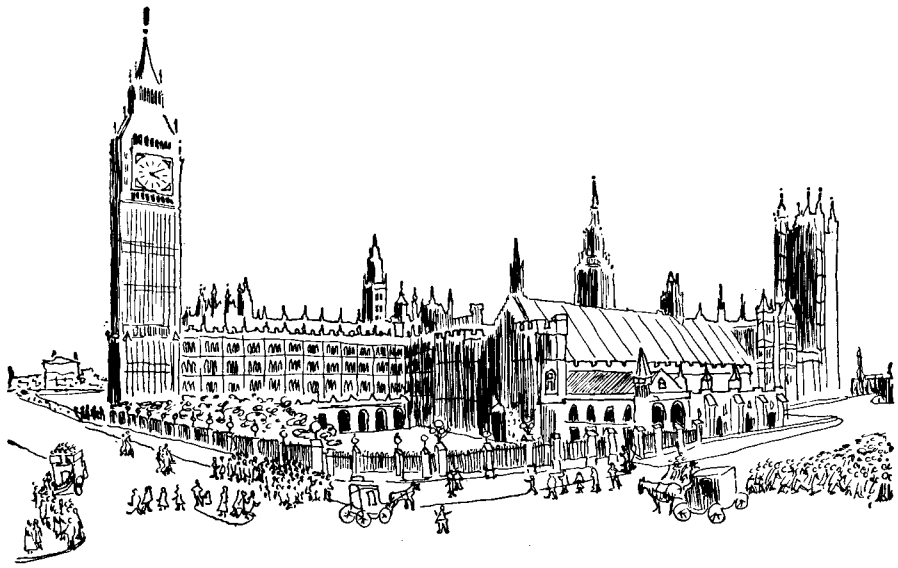
FOR MANY YEARS, some American political scientists have claimed that a more neatly defined party system, in which each of our parties was united behind a set of consistent policies, is a necessary and desirable response to the exigencies of twentieth-century life. According to this view, the election of a President and a Congress dominated by one party would be a mandate, enabling the winning party to enact a coherent legislative program. Our present party system, on the contrary, is criticized because it frequently produces legislative deadlocks between a President and the members of his own party.

This argument overlooks the fact that checks and balances were built into the American Constitution precisely so that it would be impossible for any group or party to receive a mandate; such a situation was opposed by Hamilton and Madison in *The Federalist* on the ground that it would make possible "majority tyranny." The idea of strongly centralized parties, able to legislate almost at will when they gain a majority, implies a change in attitudes toward our political institutions that would be in itself the most explosive of all issues.

Indeed, the interpretation of our Constitution may well become in itself one of the issues contributing to a partisan realignment. The sheer complexity and number of problems requiring governmental decision tend to increase the relative power of the Presidency and overload Congress. Moreover, discontent with the way our institutions are operating is combined with an increasing concern with the Constitutional issues underlying civil rights, legislative apportionment, and the role of religion in our schools. A symptom of this emerging issue is the fact that seventeen state legislatures (characteristically enough, almost all in the South, Midwest, and the Rocky Mountains) have adopted one or more of the three proposed Constitutional amendments restricting the powers of the Federal government.

Because an appeal to the urban middle class based on compromise is impossible for men who think that our entire way of life is threatened, critical elections in the 1960's could well cause a revolution in American politics.

If Goldwater conservatism should ever become the focus of a realignment of American parties, it would produce, for the first time since the Civil War, a conflict over the meaning and content of our Constitutional traditions.



Labour Tries To Broaden the Base

E. M. HUGH-JONES

LONDON

THE LABOUR PARTY has been out of office for twelve years. No political party can be entirely unaffected by such an experience. Any internal divisions will be exacerbated by the frustrations and disappointments of unsuccessful elections, and the mere passage of time will change the personalities in leadership, if not among the rank and file. The present moment, therefore, when a general election is less than one year away and there is an expectation that the Labour Party will win it, seems a good time to take a look at the party itself.

Past divisions are now so much water over the dam; the party is more unified than at any previous period, including even its six years of office after the war. If Labour should win the next election, there

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may be some personal competition for particular posts, but no major clash, whether on appointments or policy, is to be anticipated. Thus, it is relevant to discuss the prospect of a Labour victory in terms of the impact of Labour's new men upon the old problems.

I call the problems old, because basically the problems the party has to face are still the same as they were twelve years ago. They are the problem of class, the problem of the attitude toward economic and foreign policy, and the problem of the trade unions.

A Matter of Class

The problem of class is the problem which must inevitably face a party explicitly founded on class interest when, with the passage of time, it achieves maturity and a national stature and must therefore think in national rather than in class terms—and manifestly must be seen so to be thinking. I would not deny that the Tory Party is also a class party, but I think that the relation between class, party, and nation is a little different in this case. The assumption that the national interest coincides with the interest of the Tory Party has much in common with the view that what is good for General Motors is good for the United States, not because General Motors is the United States but because the interests of General Motors are so pervasive that the one must influence the other. The Labour Party's attitude in the past has been somewhat different. When its leaders have urged that what was good for the working class was good for Britain they did so with the assumption, sometimes explicitly stated, that the working class *was* Britain and that no other classes counted. (One recalls Aneurin Bevan's "lower than vermin" and Bessie Braddock's jubilant cry in the House of Commons, "We are the masters now.") This was still the position twelve years ago although there were members of the party, including their leader, who manifestly were not of working-class origin and were thinking in national terms. But the old guard of the party, and men of influence—Ernest Bevin, Aneurin Bevan, Hugh Dalton, Herbert Morrison—still very much held this point of view.

Nevertheless it may well be true that during the period of Attlee and particularly during the years of opposition under Hugh Gaitskell, a transition was taking place to a newer kind of Labour Party that is led by a different lot of people and has a more genuinely national outlook. The old guard died or went to the House of Lords, and the new guard on the present front bench illustrates very well both the extent to which this transition has been completed and the balance that has been achieved in the process. It is interesting to take the half dozen leaders of the party at the present time—Harold Wilson, George Brown, James Callaghan, Richard Crossman, Denis Healey, Douglas Jay, Patrick Gordon Walker. All except Brown and Callaghan are graduates of Oxford with First Class Honours degrees. With the possible exception of Brown, none have worked with their hands nor do any of them appear to be sprung from artisan stock; Callaghan's father, for example, was a chief petty officer in the Royal Navy. Harold Wilson in particular is the embodiment of the new look. It has frequently been said that the present British working class, with its rising standard of living, is now essentially middle-class, and Harold Wilson's father was a white-collar worker. He himself was educated in a state school, went to Oxford on a scholarship, and remained there as a teacher. Crossman, Jay, and Gordon Walker, though of dissimiliar origins, had a similar course and career, all of them spending at least some time as university teachers. Harold Wilson's main and not unimportant distinction is that at forty-seven he is almost ten years younger than these three.

THERE IS another feature that might be mentioned here as distinguishing this generation of Labour political leaders from their predecessors, and that is their rationality. The earlier British socialists were emotional in their attitude toward the problem of working-class poverty. They had grown up among it and knew it in their bones and hated it. The present generation, and particularly the Oxford group, came into Labour politics and developed their sympathy with the Labour point of view largely under the influence of G. D. H. Cole. Now Cole, although capable both of feeling and of expressing very strong emotion, was not himself emotional in his outlook on social problems. As a result these new leaders attack social problems rationally and not emotionally. Moreover, they have made a study of politics; some have taught it at the university, and are thus professionals in the American sense in a way that their predecessors were not. Wilson has the sort of respect for Tories like Harold Macmillan that one professional has for another; he will follow Izaak Walton's advice to the angler, to put the frog upon the hook "as if you loved him." I would not wish to be thought to suggest that these young leaders lack sympathy or warmth. Harold Wilson has been accused of being a cold fish, but this, from some slight personal acquaintance (he was for a short time my pupil), I would deny. He and the others are persons of warm feelings blended with a strong dose of realism.

This strong dose of rationality enables the new men of Labour to give a cool and appraising look at purely class claims and to put them in proper perspective. This facility is, I think, being increasingly recognized in the country at large. It was very interesting to observe how, after the death of Gaitskell, there was a wide surge of public sympathy for him that seems to give evidence of the extent to which he, an interim figure between Attlee and Wilson, had begun the process of dissolving class antagonisms and had begun to give to Labour the appearance of a truly national party. Wilson has done nothing to diminish this appearance. At the next election class appeal will be at a minimum, and the ultimate basis of Labour's appeal to the electorate will be a claim to think more clearly, more rationally, and no less nationally than their opponents about contemporary problems.

Economic and Foreign Policy

This new rationality can also be seen in their attitude to the second of the two big problems, the relation between economic and foreign policy. It is the Labour Party that has given Britain the best foreign secretaries since the First World War and,

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on the whole, the least effective economic policy; whereas one might have expected a Labour Party to be good at economics and bad at foreign policy, with the Tories being good at foreign policy and bad at economics. Now the position seems to be changing. The Labour Party, I think as a result of its increased rationality and the greater nationalism of its outlook, is producing economic policies that have no obvious class distinction but are based on a cool and independent appraisal of the economic facts. What is remarkable is not that its economic thinking is less conservative than that of the Conservative Party but the unemotional character of that thinking. In their attitude toward Britain's entry into the European Common Market, whatever one may think of the way in which it was expressed, Labour analysts seem to me to have done a much better job than their Tory counterparts and to have been much more objective on the question whether EEC membership would be advantageous to Great Britain. Similarly with regard to domestic policy, in strict economic terms the line the Labour Party has advocated since it lost power is much superior to the line it was advocating when in power. The Tories undoubtedly failed to promote an adequate degree of economic expansion, while the Labour Party policy could be roughly described as urging the country to take care of the pounds and let the pence take care of themselves. A policy of steady expansion could be threatened by unsuitable trade-union action, and here the line taken by the present leaders appears to be significantly stronger than that taken a decade ago. Harold Wilson has not hesitated to preach wage restraint to the very heart of the trade-union movement, namely a conference of the Transport and General Workers Union, which has been one of the most vocal in demanding complete freedom for unions to put forward wage demands without concern for the interests of anybody else. The possibility that Labour will wish to nationalize more industries is a bogy the opposition parties will undoubtedly trot out in any election. But even Emanuel Shinwell has said that the party probably endeavored to go too far too fast in the period after 1945, and undoubtedly caution will now prevail. There is a strong emotional demand for the renationalization of the trucking and steel industries, but I feel that even these will not be very strongly pursued. It is more possible, I think, that a policy of "nationalization by the back door" will be followed. This is to say that the substantial financial surplus that will arise if the party's social-security scheme is put into effect will be used to buy up common stock in various industries and thus acquire governmental control. There are some obvious difficulties and some awkward consequences in this policy, but it is no more absurd for a national pension plan to buy common stock than for a private plan to do so.

It is in the party's attitude toward foreign policy that in some ways the more curious change is taking place, for here a party that always has claimed to be both international in its sympathies and forward-looking in outlook may find itself swimming against what appear to be the obvious broad tides of international policy. In other words, the Labour Party seems to be developing a much more narrow nationalistic outlook than in the past. Nor does this refer simply to its attitude with regard to nuclear disarmament—about which it is as

much divided as any other group or community. What I have in mind here is the evident isolationism in the party's political attitude to the Common Market controversy. Labour seemed to think that Britain was still able to go it alone in international affairs; it appeared to have very little use for any concept of a political union of Western Europe. Such a union would, of course, involve some forgoing of national sovereignty, and here the party was undoubtedly concerned lest such a limitation should make it more difficult for the British government to pursue as an objective the maintenance of full employment. Memories of the 1930's die hard, and unemployment is the most horrible word in the political vocabulary of the moment. But on even wider questions the same narrow nationalist view appears to find expression, and not least perhaps in the party's view of the necessary political relationship between Great Britain and the United States. Here I think the party has yet to make up its mind. I myself feel sure that both Harold Wilson and Patrick Gordon Walker, who is slated to be foreign secretary should Labour come to power, are fully persuaded of the need for close Anglo-American co-operation. But there is still a certain undercurrent of anti-American feeling in the rank and file of the party. This springs largely from jealousy of America's obvious affluence and the extent to which it tends to exercise a political influence which in the past has been exercised without dispute by Great Britain. This attitude tends perhaps to get channeled into the Labour Party through the medium of the workers' organizations, whose comparison of their own material condition with that of the American worker is probably much sharper than the similar comparison made by other classes in this community with their American counterparts.

If this analysis is right, then there has been a curious switch-over in the balance of party thinking in these two spheres. Whereas a generation ago the party was right on foreign policy but wrong on economics, it is now right on economics but wrong in foreign policy. Having stated this oversimplified view, I now want to qualify it. The party is undoubtedly at one on domestic economic policy. On international policy it is suffering a certain amount of schizophrenia, double-think, a nostalgia for the days of the Pax Britannica; it has just begun to grapple with the realization that Britain is not now a

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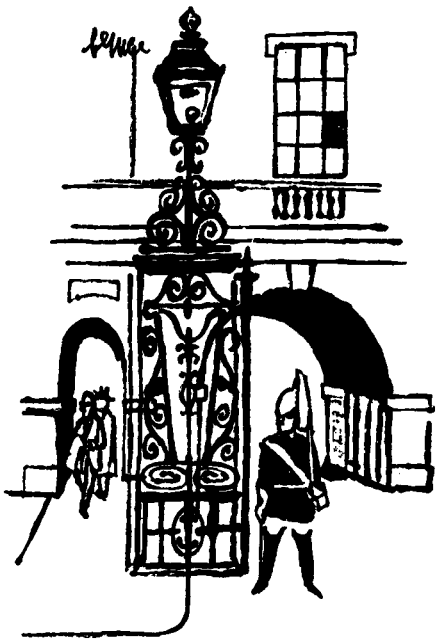
power that can stand alone. Much the same conflict, of course, is going on in the other parties; but while one might expect a Conservative Party to be acutely aware of past glory and a Liberal Party to be pacifist, the lack of international feeling in a party that still sometimes calls itself Socialist is surprising. As a general election approaches, I expect to see this matter cleared up and the more international standpoint of the leaders prevail.

The Party and the Unions

I want now to turn to the relations between the party and trade unions, which remain one of the more important problems the party will have to face. It was clear in 1945 that the greatest threat to Labour's continuance in office was in some sense the existence of trade unions. It was of course true that unions would be more likely to co-operate with an economic policy put forward by a Labour government than with one put forward by a Tory government. But it is also true that the unions would be equally apt to hamper such a policy because of their demand for continued independence of action and general freedom from control in the national interest. Agreements, for example, to exercise wage restraint were really "gentleman's agreements" —and these are of all the most liable to be broken. There was always a danger that an "image" might be created of unions as bodies devoid of concern for the national interest, devoted only to the pressing of wage demands which were inflationary because they rose faster than the national output of goods—which in turn was held down by strikes. This danger was not entirely avoided, even though the unions protested that their moderation was astounding in the light of the opportunities open to them. That such an image might be a false one would be irrelevant politically. In so far as it existed, it produced a reflected smear on the Labour Party.

The unions themselves, then, are becoming conscious of the need to reorganize if they are to play a really effective part in running the country. They recognize that the political leaders are less union men and less dependent on union support than their predecessors, so that the unions themselves must become more independently strong. It is also becoming increasingly evident that independent action can threaten economic stability, and that a policy for expansion put forward by a Labour



government demands a far greater degree of co-operation by and discipline within unions than had obtained under the earlier Labour government. To this end, among other things, the tangle of unions criss-crossing through different industries (for example, there are some twenty-two unions concerned in the motor industry and about half as many in the building industry) ought to be cleared up. This is not the place for a disquisition on the differences of union structure in the United States and Britain, and the difference between the position and powers of the Trades Union Congress and those of the AFL-CIO. But perhaps the matter can be briefly and not inaccurately put by saying that the sort of new thinking that American unions were doing in the early 1930's must now be done by British trade unions if they are to maintain their influence in the community. In the organization of the Labour Party they are no longer dominant; and if, as is probable, government is going to take an increasingly positive part in economic affairs (and this is certainly true no matter what the political complexion of the government in power), then the trade-union movement must put itself in better order to co-operate with or meet as necessary the demands of government.

IN THIS MATTER, on both the political and the organizational side, the most interesting figure is the enigmatic George Woodcock, the general secretary of the Trades Union Congress. Just as Harold Wilson is a new man in Labour politics, so George Woodcock is a new man in British trade unionism. Born in 1904, he is a dozen years older than Wilson but in the same sort of way is a man of two worlds. He left a state school at the age of twelve and worked in the cotton industry until he was twenty-three. He then went to Ruskin College, a working-class college situated in Oxford but not an integral part of the university, and after two years of study there went to New College (the College of Gaitskell, Crossman, and Jay), where he too took his First Class in his bachelor's examination. He thus combines basic working-class origin and experience with a high degree of intellectual training. I have called him enigmatic because he plays his cards closer to his chest than anyone in either the political or the trade-union movement. He is certainly one of those who wish to see a streamlined organization within the movement, with perhaps greater powers of action in regard to union matters being given to the TUC. It is also pretty clear that he believes that the sort of planned economic policy pursued by a Labour government can only succeed if it is accompanied by a plan for incomes, and that the unions must not only play a part in devising such a plan but also a responsible part in carrying it out.

These last statements are somewhat more explicit than anything George Woodcock has said in public; for his public utterances are oracular in nature, a quality enhanced by his extremely quiet voice.

In the recent conference of the TUC, Woodcock presented his report together with recommendations on incomes policy. In the past the unions have rejected a policy for the control of incomes, most of them because they believed that under a Tory government only wages would be restrained while profits and dividends could rise without limit; some, like the United Society of Boilermakers

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under their truculent leader Ted Hill, because even a Labour government could not exempt wages from restraint. All of them damned and boycotted the National Incomes Commission set up by the government to review income changes, but the unions are represented on the National Economic Development Council by, among others, George Woodcock. After some hurried last-minute drafting and with some confusing cross-voting, the conference did register its reception of the Woodcock message that an incomes policy was essential and did not reject the idea that it might be worked out in NEDC. Considering the lack of sympathy expressed by the Transport and General Workers Union and the intransigence of Ted Hill, this was more of a triumph for George Woodcock than might appear on the surface or than the press was prepared to concede. If movement in this new direction of economic realism can be continued, the trade unions can be more useful allies of the Labour Party than in the past. But the problem will still remain for the party—namely, how to keep the trade unions on tap and not let them get on top.

How can one summarize the position of the Labour Party after twelve years in opposition and now probably on the threshold of its resumption of office? It is a young party; the average age of its front bench is around fifty, and this is young in British politics. The leaders have at last recognized that Labour is not only a national party but must evidently appear to be so; and they are prepared to think, and to cast their policy, in this sort of mold. They are highly trained intellectually and are perhaps making better use of outside brains in the country than are the Tories. Their economic policy is likely to be a national and not a class one, and is likely to obtain more effective support from the trade unions than it did twelve years ago. In foreign policy it is possible that initially they may be less successful than their predecessors because they appear to be less internationally minded. But they are also realists, and I would think that this nationalism is not likely to endure.

AT HOME & ABROAD

The Chicken-War Stew

A Tale of Parity, Peasants, and Politics

PETER HENDRY

The "Chicken War" between the United States and the Common Market has gone to international arbitration, both sides preferring to avoid the retaliatory American tariff increases on European products that had been originally scheduled to take effect in October. The arbitration arguments will center on the degree of damage suffered by U.S. poultry exporters; damage itself is conceded.

Still, a chicken-export market of $46 million (according to the U.S. estimate) is not, as was frequently pointed out on both sides of the Atlantic, an extremely significant part of the United States' total of $1.25 billion in farm exports to the six members of the European Economic Community. Moreover, it is a relatively new market, an outgrowth of developing European interest in such North American institutions as the supermarket and the rotisserie. Oilseeds, tobacco, and cereals all are older and more important markets. Why, then, did the administration react with such toughness when the Common Market refused to lower the tariff on U.S. poultry?

Undoubtedly, some of the concern in Washington is related to current monetary problems, to the realization that almost all of the quarter of total U.S. farm exports which go to the Common Market are paid for in dollars while about half of the remaining farm exports are not earning dollars. But for those who have been observing European agricultural trends closely over the past decade, concern goes much further. The economic and political ferment enveloping the formation and growth of the Common Market has too often obscured another, quieter revolution, one that has been spreading on tens of thousands of individual farms in Western Europe. West European farmers, in many aspects of technology and capitalization, still lag behind their American counterparts, but they are rapidly moving toward North American-style efficiency, with the help of well-subsidized pushes from their respective governments. The farm-production indices for France, West Germany, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, and the United States show the United States tied with Italy for

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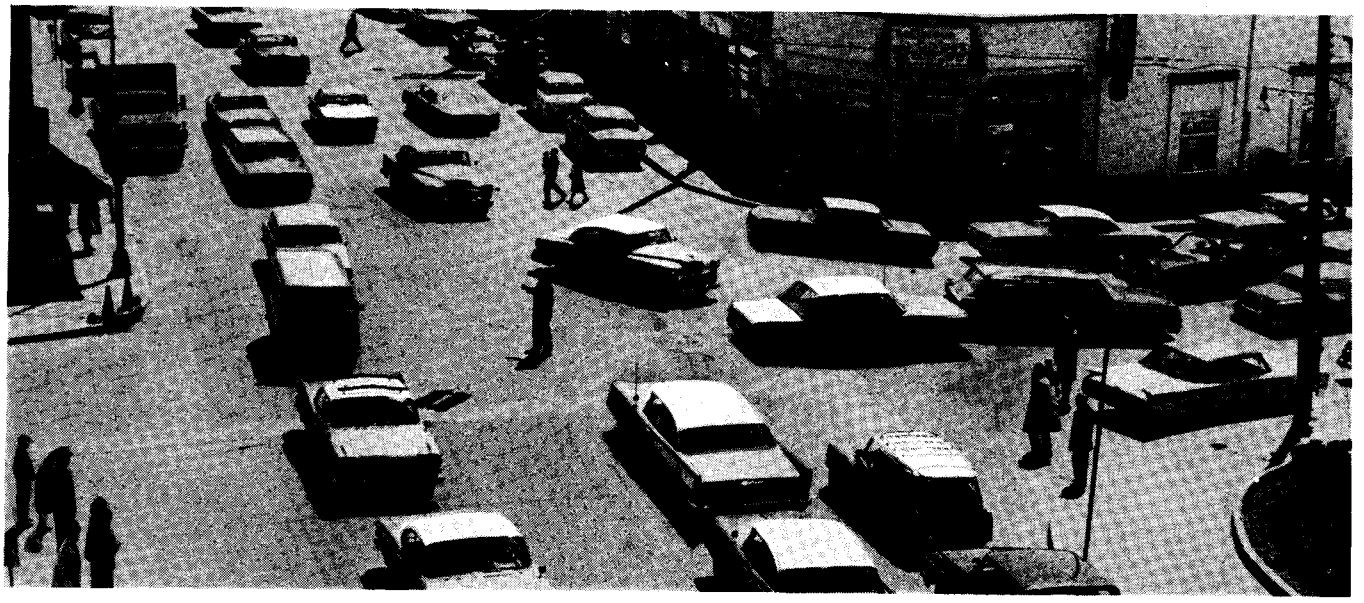

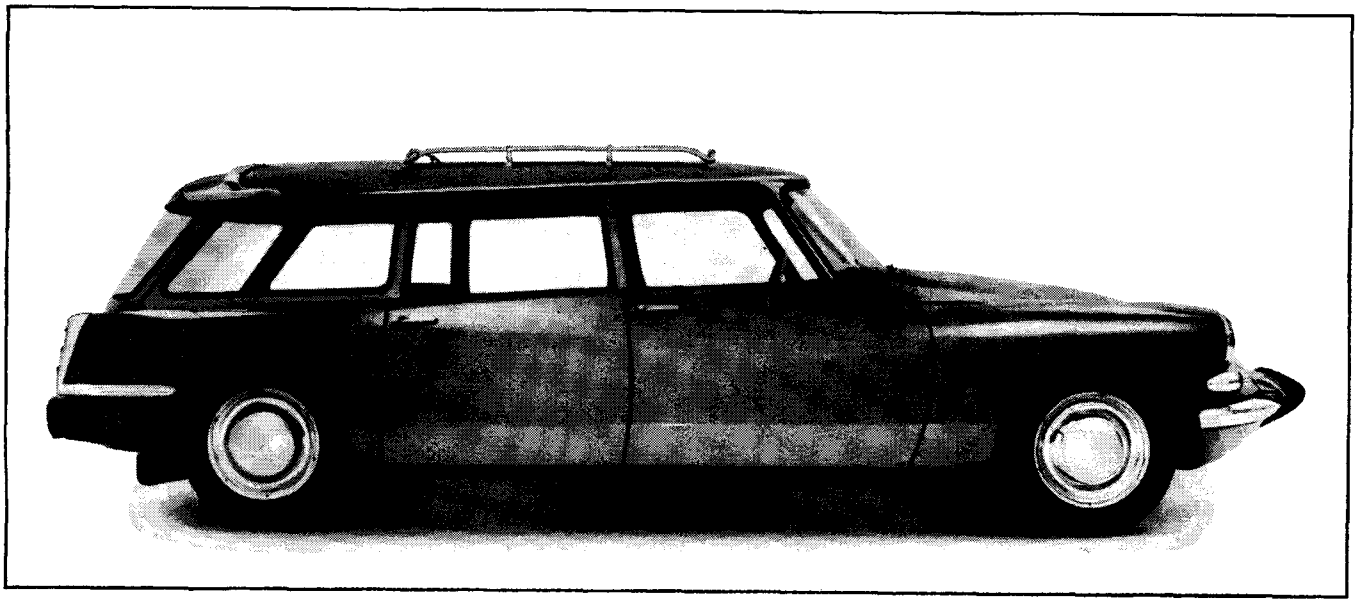

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How a Swedish village stays young

On the southwest coast of Sweden lies the summer resort of Stenungsund, where the winter population once dwindled to 2,000. Many of these were elderly people whose sons and daughters had left home to look for work elsewhere. But now Stenungsund's permanent population has begun to grow—and to grow younger.

A new petrochemical plant reversed the trend—the first petrochemical plant in Scandinavia, built by Jersey Standard's affiliate Svenska Esso. Now the young people can find job opportunities at home, not just with Esso but with the other industries that are coming to Stenungsund. Plastics, detergents, antifreeze—these are a few of the products to be manufactured from the raw materials supplied by Esso's petrochemical plant.

Sound business considerations attracted Esso to Stenungsund—its deep fjord readily navigable by big tankers, its nearby power source. But beyond the immediate call of business, Esso has helped

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preserve the town's picturesque charm, has given advice on planning and zoning of a greatly enlarged modern community with new houses and schools, with year around employment, and with a glowing future for the young.

Investments such as Jersey has made in Sweden and in many other countries are helping the United States keep pace in today's competition for expanding markets. Throughout the free world they spur production, raise living standards and make possible increased trade among nations. Benefits to others are matched by benefits at home—in returns to shareholders and in stimulus to economic growth.

Standard Oil Company (New Jersey)
and its affiliate
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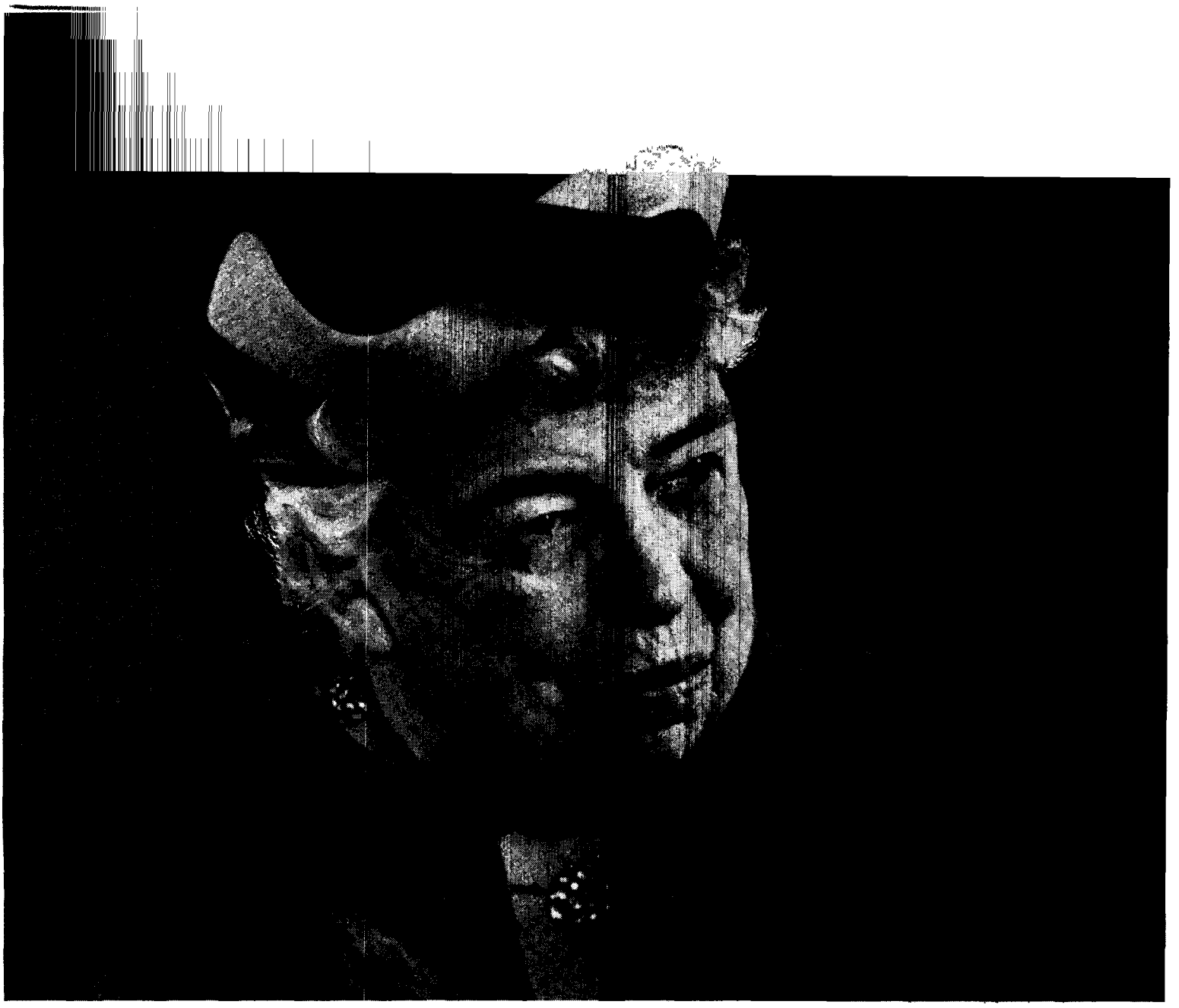

'There is so much to do, so many engrossing challenges, so many heartbreaking and pressing needs."

For her the days were never long enough.

"One must never," Eleanor Roosevelt said, "turn one's back on life."

She never did.

Her interests were as wide as the world. Her concern was all humanity.

Many thoughtful people have asked: *"How can we pay tribute to this remarkable woman?" "What can we do to preserve her memory?"*

Now—there's an answer. It is the Eleanor Roosevelt Memorial Foundation, initiated last April by the President, the Roosevelt family, chartered by the Congress of the United States, and chaired by her close friend and associate, Adlai Stevenson.

The Foundation is determined not to *build* a memorial; but to *be* one.

Already, the Foundation has made the field of human rights its immediate concern; it has developed a program of leadership and staff training towards the end that the present "revolution" shall be translated into lasting and constructive gains for millions of Americans in every community, North as well as South.

The Foundation looks to you—and millions of others throughout the nation—for support: moral and financial. The Foundation has no other resources except that which comes from the people.

"She would rather light a candle than curse the darkness and her glow has warmed the world," Adlai Stevenson has said.

When you give—as generously as you can—you help keep the candles burning; and you help light others.

"There is so much to do..."

Adlai E. Stevenson, Chairman
ELEANOR ROOSEVELT MEMORIAL FOUNDATON
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fifth place in terms of growth between 1956-1957 and 1960-1961. Improved efficiency in the European poultry business is regarded in Washington as only a preview of a wider threat to U.S. farm exports to come. The administration therefore decided to take a firm stand early.

Green Plans and Blueprints

While this agricultural revolution is related to and fostered by the development of the Common Market, it has a momentum of its own, now reaching a point where its control by legislation may not easily be achieved. With a December 31, 1969, deadline for final achievement of a common agricultural policy, the Common Market members, particularly France, Germany, and Italy, are pressing programs destined to "rationalize" their agricultural structures. France, which has shown such tenacity for attempting to steer Common Market farm policy, has been the last to follow the trend, but its sweeping agricultural law of last year is now being vigorously pushed in matters of land redistribution, marketing, and rural social reform. In West Germany, the so-called "Green Plans," budgeted at about half a billion dollars annually, are quietly and insistently pushing the Federal Republic's farm industry toward more efficient use of land, labor, and equipment. In Italy, thirteen years of land reform has brought a new way of life to more than a hundred thousand families.

For North Americans these developments are as portentous as any of the interminable Chicken War meetings at Brussels. Whatever may be decided there in terms of trade or tariff policies is inevitably destined to be influenced by the forces unleashed by this agricultural revolution. With gathering momentum, Western European farmers are headed toward the same dilemma that plagues North American farmers now—a surfeit of production unrelated to available market demand—and European protectionist measures against U.S. farm products may be expected to follow in due course. The *Times* of London commented a year ago, "What agricultural efficiency has achieved in North America in the past decade—far too much grain and other agricultural products—a similar European efficiency is bound to produce in the next decade."

Even in France, where planning of the agricultural economy has not been developed to the degree achieved in Germany or Italy, the record of improved production is impressive. Since the end of the Second World War, wheat yields per acre have risen by sixty-four per cent, barley by forty-one per cent, corn by ninety-three per cent.

This progress has been achieved by a dramatic increase of investment in modern methods of agriculture. In fifteen years, the number of tractors in France has increased from 54,000 to 900,000 and the number of grain combines from 1,160 to 75,000. The use of fertilizers and chemicals for pesticides and herbicides has more than doubled. One official of the French National Co-operative Union of Cereal Growers estimated that chemical weed sprays had contributed more than any other single factor to increased wheat yields. "You won't find poppies growing in the wheat fields now," he declared.

Despite the trappings of modernization, French agriculture thus far has had some difficulty in gearing itself for highly efficient production. A major reason for this sluggishness is the conservatism and individualism deeply ingrained in the French peasantry. Even in situations where co-operation would have given them greater bargaining strength in the market, French farmers have been inclined to go their separate ways. Part of France's Agricultural Orientation Act of 1962 is aimed at ending this chaotic system. Minister of Agriculture Edgard Pisani claims it will provide farmers with "the legal forms necessary to give them bargaining strength and to impose group discipline on themselves."

The new law calls for provisional ministerial recognition of certain strategic co-operatives or other farm associations as producer groups. When these cover a sufficiently large area and display effective disciplinary power over their members, voluntary committees will be charged with harmonizing production and marketing and with imposing marketing regulations on members. Such committees may eventually seek, through a producer vote, power to make marketing rules obligatory for all farmers through the region.

In view of past performance, French administrators may find more progress toward their master plan for agriculture in the section dealing with social action to assist farmers. Under it a fund has been established to provide grants for farmers who volunteer to leave overpopulated regions, to supplement pensions for older men who give up their land to younger farmers, and to meet the costs of retraining those leaving agriculture for other jobs.

The success of these schemes, together with the land-reform movement, will be measured in the degree that competent young farmers are persuaded to remain on the land, gearing their operations to the blueprints of the national planners. That there is at least relatively more hope for co-operation among the younger generation than with the older is evident in the attitudes of many of the restless young farm groups in France. Some of these have been formed within the framework of the Catholic Church, some independently. All of them have been most vocal in clamoring for land reform, although not in terms of unlimited government aid. Many new groups have been critical of the more orthodox professional farm organizations on this score. "For many years," a young farm-group representative wrote in *Le Figaro* last winter, "these professional organizations have hidden realities from their members . . . behind the problem of price. They have said that there are not too many farmers and that the solution lies in raising prices. In fact, young farmers think that there are from half a million to a million too many people working on the land."

The Italian Way

If the planners in Paris are at times dismayed at the enormity of the task of changing the nature of rural France, they may profit by the example of rural Italy, where the broom of the Ente Riforma has swept, if not clean, at least vigorously. Maps in the land-reform agency's Rome headquarters are speckled with colored marks indicating large estates that have been broken up and

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distributed among peasants and landless workers.

Even in a nation with a farm population as large as Italy's, it is an impressive undertaking to resettle more than a hundred thousand families on small farms of their own, ranging from ten to sixty acres, in the space of thirteen years. But to sense the real impact of land reform on rural life in Italy, particularly in the more backward south, it is necessary to see areas such as the Gulf of Taranto coast or the Olfanto Valley on the Adriatic side above Bari. In this latter area, two large estates whose 22,000 acres were once devoted to sheep grazing have been divided into a thousand small peasant holdings, growing sugar beets, wheat, and vegetables. Irrigation is supplied by the Cassa per il Mezzogiorno dam. On the south coast on a flat sweep of former marshland west of Taranto, a three-year-old irrigation project now serves some 18,000 acres and another thousand peasant landowners, and is being steadily extended. Both these developments are dotted with trim, uniform peasant cottages, built by the reform agency and described in large letters "Riforma Fondiaria."

As with the French planners, the Ente Riforma agents place heavy emphasis on peasant co-operation. On paper at least, their success has been phenomenal, but not even the most enthusiastic land reformer gives the major credit to any true co-operative spirit. The major factor, they say, has been the requirement that new peasant landholders must agree to belong to the local co-operative for twenty years.

To encourage peasants to live on their own land, rather than to follow the ancient custom of walking or riding in carts to the fields from towns and villages often hours distant, in some areas the Ente Riforma has built complete service-center villages near the districted land. Despite the olive groves and Mediterranean sunshine, some of these centers are reminiscent of company towns. The inherent paternalism is not denied by the builders. "In the beginning," said Dr. Arialdo Maiorino, a senior Ente Riforma official in Rome, "we had to do practically everything for the consignees [peasants]. They had to be instructed in new methods of farming. We had to build their homes for them and their villages. Many women had to be taught basic household economics. In some areas we even paid for priests to move into the new villages.

"Now that is changing. The groundwork has been done. They are able to do much for themselves, but we are providing guidance in other fields—in better marketing arrangements for their products, in a better social life.

"When the land-reform movement began, it had national self-sufficiency in agricultural produce as its goal. Now it is looking beyond to European objectives and to specialized roles that Italian agriculture can play in this larger field."

DR. MAIORINO thus put a finger on the force that motivates not only Italian agricultural reform but the French and West German as well. West Germany, faced with continual pressure to scale farm prices down toward the still-to-be-established Common Market level, is stalling for time to adjust its overmechanized and badly fragmented farm industry. France, having played a major role in shaping agricultural policy thus far, feels a particular urgency to put its own house in order, particularly with regard to marketing arrangements, before the general policy direction of agriculture shifts to Brussels, presumably a little more than six years hence.

The reasons for structural farm change and the problems it faces in each of the three countries vary. Still, some common basic principles are evident. Partly because of the continuing power of the rural vote and partly, no doubt, out of sheer social conscience, there has been a government commitment in all three countries to achieve for farmers parity or near-parity of income with industrial workers. This commitment, however, has been accompanied by the recognition that such a goal is not possible as long as the percentage of the labor force involved in agriculture is much higher than the percentage of the gross national product derived from agriculture.

The solution, obviously, is more effective use of farm manpower and the creation of off-farm employment for between two and three million people. Yet, again because of the farmers' voting strength, there is a determination to effect these changes as gradually and as inconspicuously as possible.

On the seesaw balance of these pressures rests much of the influence that will shape EEC's common agricultural policy, with regard to both prices and structural changes. What is pointed out all too seldom, however, is that there is a closer relationship between these two factors than appears on the surface. While it is true that EEC has declared its intention eventually to abandon its national farm-price subsidies, there may be some difficulty in defining exactly what a subsidy is. If German farmers, as they do, receive a grant equal to fifteen per cent of the purchase price of machinery used co-operatively, or if Italian peasants are able to buy land at what amounts to a discount from the market price, the resulting lowered costs clearly give them a competitive advantage equivalent to a more direct subsidy.

'A New Start'

This problem is now increasingly recognized. In a visit to the United States last April, the EEC vice-president and author of its agricultural policy, Dr. Sicco Mansholt of the Netherlands, made a plea for "a new start on really removing obstacles to agricultural trade by dealing with the whole scope of agricultural policies, not merely tariffs and quotas. . . .

"The approach up to now," he declared, "has always been in the trade side. We have always tried to remove barriers to trade between countries while leaving all difficulties of national agricultural policy to the governments themselves. And we all know that national farm policies come well equipped with a variety of weapons to protect the farmer at home in one way or another. . . ."

Dr. Mansholt's statement might be considered as a somewhat belated response to U.S. Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman's suggestion, made in a speech in Paris last November to members of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, that the United States was prepared to lay its agricultural policies on the interna-

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tional negotiating table—provided that other western nations were prepared to do the same. The OECD ministerial committee has now hopefully drawn up a list of general principles for agricultural policy.

But, as the OECD ministerial committee, Dr. Mansholt, and Secretary Freeman are all aware, principle and practice can be separated by a very wide gap. Dr. Mansholt speaks for a commission that only this spring began to devote some attention to correlating the non-price measures of member nations' agricultural policies; Secretary Freeman speaks for an administration whose major bid for the establishment of effective production controls was soundly defeated in the wheat farmers' referendum last May.

Until the balance of political power in western nations follows the shift of population from farm to city, it seems likely that national farm policies will be shaped more on their direct appeal to the domestic rural vote than on any consideration of their long-range effects on international trade.

The dangers inherent in this situation have been noted by Roger Savary, secretary-general of the International Federation of Agricultural Producers. "Parity [of income for farmers] and trade," he has declared, "will remain, for many years to come, conflicting ideals which governments will have to reconcile, individually and collectively, as best they can. Farm organizations would be well advised, therefore, to concentrate somewhat more than heretofore on the long-run implications of the drive for parity."

But across much of Western Europe, at least, his warning goes unheeded. «»

Venezuela: The Achievement Of Don Romulo

A. A. BERLE

In recent interviews with American journalists, President Rómulo Betancourt of Venezuela has taken pains to counter the false impression prevalent in the United States that Venezuela is a terror-ridden country in danger of revolution. He might have added a more telling point: in the five years past, Venezuela has seen one of the most brilliant achievements of social and economic development in the world.

Venezuela is not in the position of other Caribbean countries where armies have taken over or changed presidents, and only ignorance of conditions causes reports of an imminent army coup. I would give odds against the success of any attempt to upset the administration of President Betancourt before his term expires next February. In part this is due to his personal character, force, and political capacity. Even more, it is due to the remarkable accomplishments—economic, social, and political—of his administration. These have taken place despite the early and bitter attacks on him from the leftovers of the former dictatorship of Colonel Marcos Pérez Jiménez and the later and far more savage effort carried on by a diminishing cadre of Venezuelan and Cuban terrorists financed, directed, and in part armed from Castro's Cuba with Russian-trained leaders and supplies. Betancourt has demonstrated that he is not only an idealist but a very tough politician. And as he completes the first full term ever served by a freely elected Venezuelan president, he is stronger politically than he was when he took office early in 1959.

Three Friends

Behind all this is a personal drama. It revolves around three men: Rómulo Betancourt himself, Governor Luis Muñoz Marín of Puerto Rico, and the former president of Costa Rica, José Figueres, now a visiting professor at Harvard. Exiled from Venezuela by Pérez Jiménez after serving as provisional president from 1945 to 1948, Betancourt was offered asylum in Costa Rica by President Figueres. While the State Department under President Eisenhower was uneasily wondering whether Betancourt could be chivvied out of the hemisphere (thereby appeasing Pérez Jiménez), the Costa Rican president courageously insisted on sheltering the distinguished Venezuelan exile. Eventually he found refuge in Puerto Rico, where he lived for some years. During that time he and Governor Muñoz often discussed the combined political and economic measures that had been so successful in Puerto Rico. When the Pérez Jiménez régime fell in 1958, the three men continued to work together—as chiefs of state, as students, and as friends.

I can bear witness to the remarkable results of this collaboration in Venezuela. The Pérez Jiménez dictatorship fell partly because the Venezuelan Army had had enough of it (armies sometimes move *toward* democracy) and partly because Betancourt's party, Democratic Action, had done an excellent job of political organization. A provisional government was formed consisting of army and navy officers; one of them, Admiral Wolfgang Larrazábal, ran for president in 1958 and is running again in the elections to be held next month. Honorably, this provisional government held the 1958 election and Rómulo Betancourt won it. Shortly thereafter I was in Venezuela and later discussed the situation with Figueres, who also was in Caracas: "What a mess!" he exclaimed, as he described the shambles Pérez Jiménez had made of the Venzuelan economy. "But a rich mess! There are resources here. Rómulo's job is to put them to work." This was precisely what President Betancourt himself thought, and he went to work with passionate dedication.

Betancourt and his administration have now had nearly five years to work in Venezuelan affairs. The results are dramatic, even in statistics. The child-mortality rate of the country has dropped from 66.7 per thousand in 1956 to 53.3 in 1961. In five years the government has provided schools, with teachers, for

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145,000 additional students. This year schooling will be available for substantially every Venezuelan child. The annual gross national product of Venezuela jumped in the past year more than six per cent to $6.25 billion. This was not merely greater production of oil for export by American companies. Local industry produced $200 million more goods in 1962 than in 1961. A steel plant begun under Pérez Jiménez (and in terrible shape) was reorganized with the help of an American company. Production is expected to pass sixty per cent of capacity by next March, at which time it will be a profitable investment. It can produce most of the steel the country needs.

The first of the country's great electric plants, located in a Venezuelan version of the Tennessee Valley Authority, where the Caroni River meets the Orinoco, generates 350,000 kilowatts. Arrangements have been completed with the World Bank for construction of a second unit that will supply power for an aluminum plant to be completed next year by the government in partnership with the Reynolds Metals Company. A petrochemical fertilizer plant handy to the Venezuelan oil resources is on the way. Smaller plants of many kinds are in operation. Venezuela now makes seventy-two per cent of the manufactured products it consumes. The national road system has been increased by 2,600 kilometers, including approach roads opening up agricultural areas.

STRIKING a balance between expenditures for production facilities and for social welfare—that is, for consumption—presented a problem in Venezuela as it does in every underdeveloped country. Betancourt's government took a chance, giving rather high priority to production. Now the program is paying off, permitting greater emphasis on social welfare.

Results are beginning to show on the social side too. Real wages of Venezuelan workers have increased by nearly one-third in five years. Although this enormous jump had a very low starting point, increased production and a better distribution of income have raised the standard of living substantially. Venezuela's agrarian-reform law is very nearly a model. At the close of this year, one hundred thousand farmers will have been settled on land they are in process of buying in houses built by or for them. This already locates more than three hundred thousand people. Roads, electricity, schools, and sanitation and health facilities serve the new communities.

The agrarian-reform law provoked a violent conflict with the Communists, who wished to seize and occupy existing plantations or holdings, Cuban-style, making agrarian reform synonymous with class war and wrecking existing production without any corresponding increase—as the Cubans have learned. Many of the newly created colonies produce food for urban markets. This, together with the road systems and with better agricultural methods, is slowly but steadily increasing the supply and lowering the formerly inflated price of food.

The slums of Caracas, filled to bursting with rural migrants, still remain a major problem. The government has tackled the situation with spirit, working out three complementary plans. Co-operative apartments have been constructed for those who wish to enter the life of the city. Construction on a self-help basis of colonies adjoining farming areas near the city is under way. As they are built, they are made available to slum dwellers. In at least one large area, arrangements have been made to rebuild the slum *ranchos* from the roof down without displacing the inhabitants—a true job of urban renewal.

One result of all this progress has been the gradual increase of a middle class. Families with relatively assured though modest incomes, able and willing to take advantage of opportunities for jobs or education, are not easily driven like dumb cattle, whether by Communist agitators, military or political demagogues, or selfish economic groups.

Who Will Succeed Him?

The majority of Venezuelans believe that the Betancourt government has improved their lot. Although the president may not succeed himself, this sentiment seems likely to benefit his party in the December presidential election. Recent polls suggest that more than forty per cent will go to Dr. Raúl Leoni, the Democratic Action candidate, and that second place will be a close contest between Dr. Rafael Caldera, heading the Christian Democrats, who now are in coalition with Democratic Action, and Jovito Villalba, whose Democratic Republican Union appears to favor co-operation with the Communists. Each will get perhaps eighteen or twenty per cent. Since the coalition between Democratic Action and the Christian Democrats will continue, it is fairly plain that the next president will carry on for at least another five years the policies of the current government.

Continued for as much as ten years, the program would revolutionize Venezuelan life as thoroughly as Muñoz Marín's program has revolutionized Puerto Rico's. The Caroni River power development, lying close to resources of oil, gas, and iron ore and with access to the sea, could become the Pittsburgh of South America. Light manufacture already supplies good inexpensive clothing, and the volume will certainly increase. Land and housing are increasingly available. Agricultural yields per acre are beginning to show the effects of modern techniques; grain and meat should become more plentiful. Ceramics and tile production is already established; chemical production is coming in.

Venezuela is thus on the threshold of becoming an industrial nation as well as a producer of oil and iron ore for export. It has a balanced budget, a slightly favorable balance of trade, and a good working relationship with American companies whose services Venezuela uses primarily for the export trade, while maintaining ownership of its internal production.

To be sure, conditions are not the same in any two South American countries. Venezuela's experience nevertheless demonstrates for all to see that with democratic leadership, socially enlightened economic administration, and reasonable co-operation with the United States, the peoples of these countries stand a far better chance than if paralyzed by the extreme Right or conquered by Communism.

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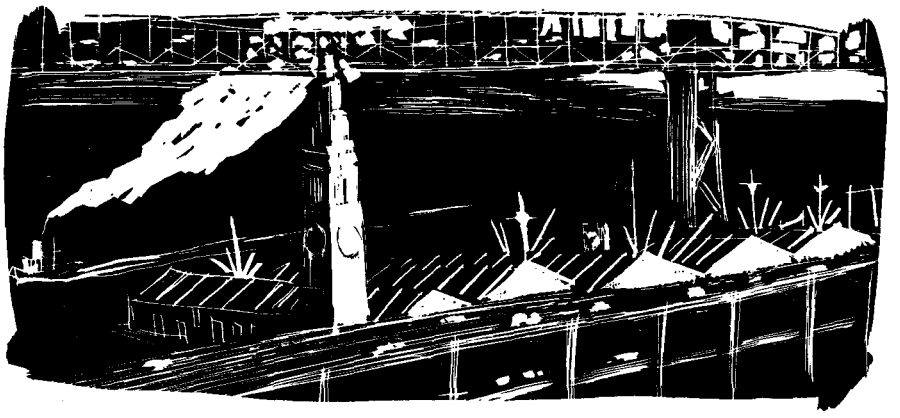

Unions and Automation: Truce on the West Coast

BRUCE BLIVEN

THREE union contracts on the West Coast seem to point a clear, broad road to voluntary peace between workers and employers on the greatest single issue now dividing them—automation. In each of these agreements, the union has abandoned all resistance to the introduction of laborsaving devices. In each, the employer is paying a stiff price for this concession, including a guarantee for a period of years that no worker will suffer hardships because machinery has eliminated his job. While prediction is always rash, strikes seem highly unlikely during any of these contracts. They have special significance at a time when Congress, struggling with the nationwide conflict between the railroads and their workers, has passed the first peacetime law in memory providing for compulsory arbitration.

The contracts in question are between the Southern Pacific railroad and its clerks, the shipowners and the longshoremen of the Pacific Coast and Hawaii, and the Kaiser Steel Corporation and its steelmakers.

Each of these agreements is the lengthened shadow of a man, and in each case he represents a different side of the triangular bargaining table that is becoming commonplace today. In the railroad dispute, the outstanding figure is Professor J. Keith Mann of the Stanford University Law School. The longshoremen's contract is chiefly the handiwork of the president of the union, Harry Bridges. The Kaiser settlement springs from the ideas of Edgar Kaiser, now the guiding spirit in the steel company and in most of the other enterprises founded by his father, Henry J. Kaiser.

These three agreements were hammered out within a few miles of each other, the first two in San Francisco and the third at the Kaiser headquarters across the Bay in Oakland. This is only partly coincidence; the West seems somewhat freer from the rigidity of conservative tradition than the East, more willing to experiment boldly.

While these contracts have important elements in common, they also have sufficient differences to be discussed separately.

Automation and Arbitration

Donald J. Russell, the hard-driving sixty-four-year-old president of the Southern Pacific railroad, has made his line one of the country's most prosperous, aided by the fact that its eight thousand miles of track are in seven Western states, comparatively free from competition. Russell quit Stanford University before graduation and has been working for the Southern Pacific ever since. He is a fanatic on using all technological advances to reduce costs and improve service, including computers and many other devices to cut down paper work. In five years, 1958-1962, he was able to eliminate forty per cent of his clerical workers—about 4,500 men—while traffic was increasing more than eleven per cent.

Naturally, the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Employees was unhappy, and said so. The protests were voiced by a tough union bargainer, James E. Weaver, general chairman for the Southern Pacific unit, backed by another tough bargainer, George M. Harrison, international president. The complaints became so loud that President Kennedy finally appointed a special investigating committee headed by Dr. Mann, who has been working in labor relations almost since he got his LL.B. from the University of Indiana in 1949. Mann was chairman of the Review and Appeals Committee for the Wage Stabilization Board during the Korean War, later worked on labor relations for the Atomic Energy Commission, was a member of the President's commission on the flight engineers' dispute with the airlines in 1961, and has been a negotiator in two railroad controversies.

His committee in the Southern Pacific dispute was set up in August, 1962, and brought in a report on December 31. It made some far-reaching suggestions that proved unacceptable to both sides. While investigations were in progress, Weaver set a date for a strike several times, and postponed it only at the last minute.

The union did not reject outright any reduction whatever of the work force because automation had eliminated jobs; the sticking point was how rapidly this should be done. The railroad, at least in theory, would have liked to see every position vacated as soon as it proved unnecessary; the union wanted to keep the reduction down to a fixed small percentage, perhaps one like the two per cent a year embodied in a separate agreement made two years earlier with the Order of Railroad Telegraphers.

By March of this year, agreement had been reached on some of the issues. President Kennedy now sug-

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gested that Professor Mann's committee have the power to arbitrate the remaining issues, with both sides agreeing in advance to accept the result. This was done, and a precedent-shattering final settlement was reached in ten days.

THE MOST IMPORTANT principle set up was that job elimination should be held as close as possible to the rate of "natural attrition"—the normal reduction of the working force by resignation, retirement, promotion, ill health, dismissal for cause, or death; in the case of the Southern Pacific this rate is between five and six per cent a year. Very rarely in industry has any such proposal been made, and more rarely still has it been accepted.

Professor Mann's committee set another important precedent when it insisted that no union settlement can be allowed to endanger the financial health of the employer:

"This Board cannot sanction an approach which would inhibit the carrier's effort to remain competitive. Only if railroad management is free to introduce cost-saving innovations will this nation continue to enjoy an adequate and efficient transportation system. . . . Meaningful employment security cannot be achieved at the expense of change."

When a man's job is abolished, every effort will be made to retrain him to work in some other department. All appropriate agencies of government are being called in, beginning with the machinery of the Federal Manpower Development and Training Act, on the assumption that there is a public as well as a private obligation to help the victims of the economic storm that is created by technological advance.

If men are downgraded in their jobs, the gap in pay will be filled. Fringe benefits such as hospitalization are maintained at a level varying with length of service. If a man is asked to move from one town to another, he will be compensated for the expense, including any loss on the sale of his house. Many rigid union job classifications have been moderated to permit flexibility in moving men from one job to another.

The few employees actually displaced will receive furlough benefits coming partly from the Southern Pacific, partly from Railroad Unemployment Insurance funds. Depending on the length of service, the worker eliminated will receive seventy per cent of his earnings for a maximum of a year, followed by sixty per cent for a maximum of four years.

Don Russell has good reason to be pleased with the new contract. As far as the clerks are concerned, he can introduce as many laborsaving devices as are invented—and he keeps the Stanford Research Institute hopping to produce more. With the work force shrinking about five per cent a year, before long it will be as small as the railroad feels is safe. (The job eliminated need not be that of the person leaving the payroll, as long as the ratio of one to one is maintained.)

James Weaver and George Harrison also have solid grounds for satisfaction. Practically all the present members of their union working for the Southern Pacific now have job security, and the few who don't will get maximum help in finding new work.

Both sides should benefit from the new spirit of co-operation and good will—an intangible factor but one that can be of enormous importance.

The Golden Gate's Bridges

The West Coast and Hawaiian waterfronts, both under the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, have a long history of savage labor disputes. The longshoreman's work is—or used to be—almost entirely hard physical labor, requiring a rough, tough man to do it. The shipowners are also a hardy and individualistic breed, strong believers in personal initiative, despite the fact that the American merchant marine leans heavily on the Federal government for aid of various forms; they bitterly dislike taking orders from anybody, least of all a union representative. Over the years, work stoppages have been frequent; in 1934 a waterfront dispute turned into a San Francisco general strike in the course of which three men were killed and many injured.

While conditions became better than in the bad old days, the truculence on both sides continued for many years. There was so much trouble that, when possible, shippers began routing cargo to avoid using any of the ILWU ports.

The union continued to fight a rear-guard action against automation, trying to hold employment as high as possible even if featherbedding were required. Until the latest contract went into effect, it was common to see a gang on the dock with only half the men working at any one time. Goods taken from the hold of a ship on a flat container might sit on the wharf next to a waiting truck, but longshoremen had to move everything to the pier itself before loading could start. Though modern derricks can lift tremendous weights, any freight package of more than 2,100 pounds had to be broken down on the dock into smaller units. Petty grievances resulted in great numbers of quickie strikes.

The International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union has been bossed for decades by Alfred Renton Bridges, who has renamed himself Harry. The government tried unsuccessfully for years to deport him to his native Australia on the ground that he was a Communist when he entered the country and his entry was therefore illegal. Harry, now a citizen, says deadpan that he is a Republican. Whatever his politics, he has proved himself one of the ablest and most farsighted union leaders in the United States.

Several years ago, Bridges began to doubt the policy of fighting automation. In spite of everything the union could do, advances were being made; when a dispute involving technology was arbitrated, the union often lost. Public sentiment was against featherbedding; further resistance was beginning to seem a mug's game. His views were reflected in a special report by a union committee. After demonstrating with a mass of facts and figures that automation did not cut the work force as much as most people thought, it continued:

"Our present policy can be described as one of intermittent guerrilla warfare directed against all changes which we anticipate will reduce the need for men. . . . Do we want to stick with [this plan] or do we want to adopt a more flexible

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policy in order to buy specific benefits in return?"

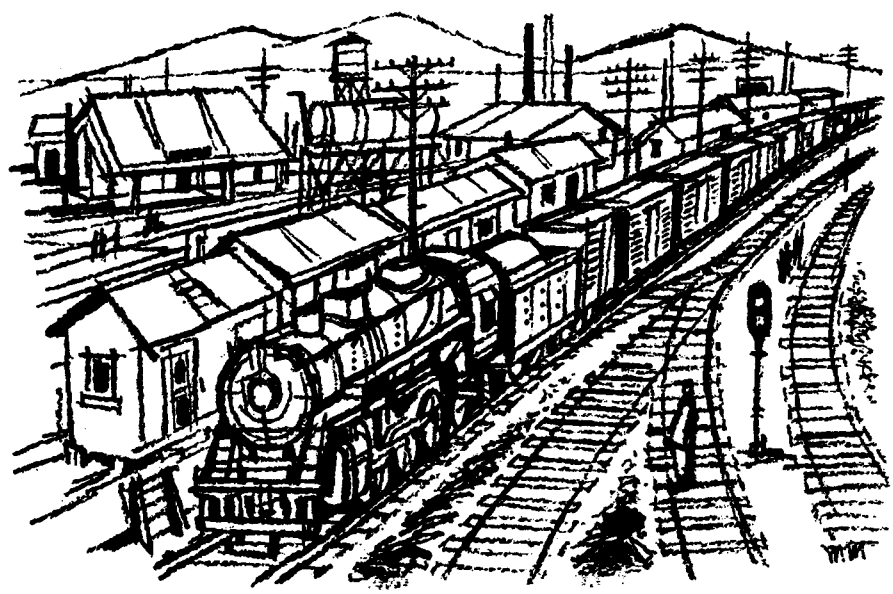
THE SHIPOWNERS are represented by the Pacific Maritime Association, whose president is J. Paul St. Sure, meticulously courteous, faultlessly groomed, and tough. At a time when another work stoppage seemed imminent, legend has it that Bridges went to him and said, "A strike will cost you $70 million. Give us half that much as our share of the saving, and we'll agree to permit automation and not to strike for five years." (Like any sensible reporter, I have carefully avoided checking this story lest I find it false; in any case, the final contract came fairly close to these terms.)

Both Bridges and St. Sure had plenty of trouble, lasting for years, with diehards in their ranks. Technically, the longshoremen are usually employed by subcontractors working on a cost-plus basis. The shipowners really call the tune, however, and some of them were outraged at the notion of buying the right to improve dockside processes. Many union members sputtered at the idea of encouraging machines and cutting down the work force, and the Los Angeles local actually voted against the plan.

Finally, however, in 1961, the agreement was accepted. It provides for a total payment of $29 million over a period of five and a half years, to be deposited in a special fund under joint union-employer supervision. From it, every longshoreman is guaranteed pay equal to not less than a specified number of hours per week, whether there is work for him or not. At present, this number is thirty-five and the hourly rate is more than $4. Retirement is compulsory at sixty-five, at which time each man gets a lump sum of $7,920, without reference to any other pension rights. If he wishes, he may retire as early as sixty-two, in which case he gets his bonus in monthly payments of $220.

When the agreement was signed it was expected that about four per cent of the longshoremen would retire each year, but in fact the rate has been twice as high. Though with unrestricted automation each worker accomplishes much more, a heavy rush of business has resulted in an actual shortage of labor. Bridges has lately been scolding his men for their reluctance to take in new members, and the union is being expanded by a thousand workers who have had some experience on the waterfront.

St. Sure and his shipowners have good reason to be pleased with the agreement. Much freight is now handled in huge sealed containers, so that a ship often need spend only twenty-four hours in port instead of a week, at a saving of thousands of dollars a day. The hundreds of small quickie strikes that formerly took place have been largely curbed; arbitrators are now kept continually on duty to come at once to the scene of any labor dispute and settle it on the spot. Pilferage, the curse of the waterfront the world over, has greatly diminished.



Labor costs are down; a reduction of only five per cent balances the annual payments into the special fund, and the cut has already gone far beyond that. If the work force can be reduced a third—a reasonable expectation as things are going—the shipowners should save about $40 million a year.

The union's advantages also seem substantial. Irregularity of employment is a thing of the past. Every man gets paid whether there is work for him or not, and retires at sixty-five or even sixty-two.

The new agreement at the Kaiser steel mill at Fontana, a few miles east of Los Angeles, is in some ways the most remarkable of the three. It owes its being to Edgar Kaiser, the amiable and hard-working fifty-five-year-old son of the fabulous Henry J. The elder Kaiser built ships so fast during the Second World War that it was said you had to watch your step at a launching not to be run over by the next ship coming down the same ways. Now, at eighty-one, he is romping around the Hawaiian Islands and leaving a big new hotel in almost every footprint. Edgar is in general charge of the Kaiser empire, which besides steel embraces engineering, automobiles, cement, gypsum, aluminum, chemicals, aircraft, electronics, and assorted sidelines. His father trained him in a hard school; he was working on a natural-gas line from Kansas to Texas when he was only twenty-two, and thereafter helped construct Boulder, Bonneville, and Grand Coulee Dams before he went into wartime ship production in Portland, Oregon.

The Fontana Settlement

The Fontana mill is an ultramodern three-million-ton plant. Despite its efficiency, it has usually operated in the red, being carried by the other Kaiser companies. This is partly because of foreign competition, partly because the typical order for fabricated steel in its sales area is small, with each requiring costly readjustment of machinery. Edgar's re-

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lations with his workers have always been good; in 1959, in the nationwide steel strike, he was the first to break away from the other companies and make an independent settlement with the United Steelworkers of America.

Over the years, like many another important executive, he had become more and more disgusted with exhausting day-and-night union bargaining under the threat of a strike. He called in a group of experts in labor relations to see what could be done. After many months of consideration, they proposed the present plan, which was finally accepted by the Fontana steelworkers on March 1, 1963. Explaining what he had in mind, Edgar says that he was seeking a scheme that would "offer the opportunity of completely eliminating contract deadlines on economic issues."

Under this new plan, savings in the cost of operations beyond the 1961 level are shared, the company getting two-thirds and the workers one-third. Since about half the company's profits—when there are any—go to taxes, Kaiser officials like to call this a three-way-split—management, workers, and public.

If a man's job is eliminated by automation, he goes into an Employment Reserve Pool. His standard hourly rate of pay is guaranteed for one year and his employment is protected until he is reassigned. Like work on the waterfront, steelmaking is hard work even with today's techniques; the natural attrition at Fontana is eight per cent a year, and the management believes no one is likely to be in the Reserve Pool more than five or six months on the average. Kaiser also guarantees to maintain wage rates and fringe benefits substantially equivalent to those the Steelworkers may obtain at any time in the future through nationwide bargaining.

Like other steel mills, this one has had some of its men under special incentive pay, resulting in high remuneration. These workers were given a choice: they could remain under the old system or come into the new one on a majority vote of the members of each gang. If they decided to change, they got a "buy-out" lump sum, which could be as much as $5,000 per man.

There are several important advantages for management in the plan. The workers now have a very real incentive to try to think up shortcuts to save time and money. The likelihood of quickie strikes is reduced to a minimum, and so is the chance of a complete shutdown when the contract expires.

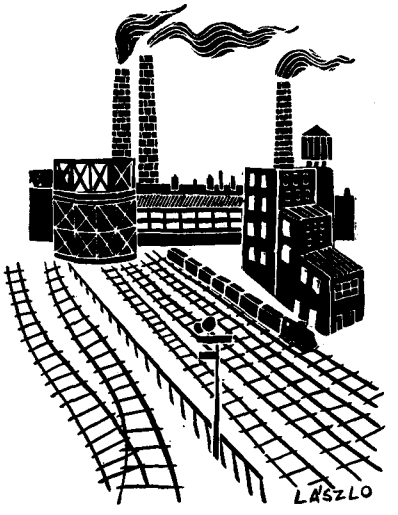
The advantages to the worker are also great. He has job security against anything except a severe economic depression, in which case very few are guaranteed their jobs in any industry. If he devises new techniques to help make steel more economically, his ingenuity is reflected in his pay envelope—and those of all his fellow workers. In the first two months of the plan, the total savings in cost of operation over the same period in 1961 amounted to $2,158,000, of which the workers' share was about $700,000, or twenty-five per cent of the payroll for those participating.

The Kaiser plan also has one decided advantage for the company's customers. Since they now have little reason to fear a shutdown, steel purchasers probably will not consider it necessary to stockpile large quantities, with the risk of deterioration.

'The Unborn'

These three agreements underscore some conclusions about labor-management relations that are steadily becoming more apparent in all industry throughout the country.

It seems clear that no union is likely to accept without a struggle any arrangement that involves the dismissal of a large proportion of its members without adequate safeguards for their future welfare. To resist this they will strike, unless forbidden by law, no matter how much the national economy may be affected. Indeed, if they are sufficiently bitter, they may find ways to circumvent a law; it is still true, as John L. Lewis used to say, that you can't dig coal with bayonets.



It is also clear that few employers will accept any substantial degree of featherbedding unless they are forced to. Public opinion, if it knows the facts, will be on their side.

With wages and working conditions becoming steadily less important, and with the new emphasis on job security and conditions of retirement, the area in which the interest of unions and management is parallel or identical is steadily expanding. In many cases, each side's thinking about the other is somewhat obsolete. Some unions overlook the fact that most businesses today are run by salaried employees who own little or none of the stock, many of them highly trained in industrial management, including labor relations. The employers are also slow to recognize a new breed of union representatives, men who know as much about economics and finance as those across the bargaining table, and who want the business—and the country—to prosper.

Agreements like the three described here cannot possibly be achieved in a crisis atmosphere, under pressure of a strike deadline. They therefore lend weight to the movement, now gaining momentum everywhere, for negotiations to continue the year round, with permanent machinery for constant contact.

More and more we may expect to see the introduction of neutral third parties into union bargaining, trained experts who can carry over into a new industry what they have learned in others.

Finally, it should be noted that contracts like these take care only of the existing union membership and those who may be hired for their immediate replacement. They do nothing for what labor experts call "the unborn," those who are now growing up who would have filled the ranks of the union in the future. Their problem remains, and it is serious.

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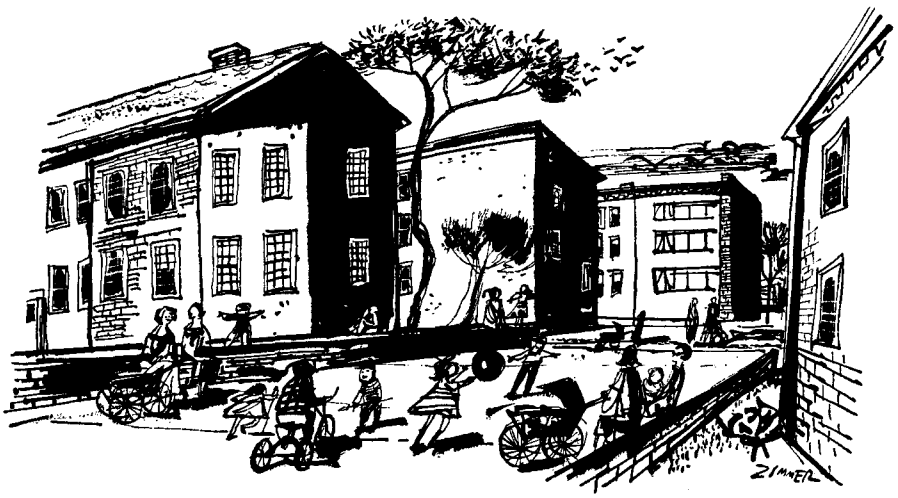

Austerity in Ohio

ROBERT GILES

COLUMBUS

JUST ABOUT one year ago, when he was safely on his way to becoming the sixty-first governor of Ohio, James A. Rhodes told an audience in the state's industrial northeast: "Spending money and adding employees doesn't solve Ohio's problems. When you elect a governor, you elect management. A governor must stand between the big spenders and the taxpayers. I have proposed realistic programs to meet these problems without resorting to additional increases in taxes."

Promises of no new taxes or even of lowering existing ones have been standard campaign fare at least since John W. Bricker became governor in 1939. A succession of chief executives, including Frank J. Lausche, Ohio's senior U.S. senator, who served five two-year terms as governor, put this tested political recipe into practice with the help of a $213-million treasury surplus accumulated during the Second World War. But the surplus was gone by 1958 when Michael V. DiSalle, who had served as director of price stabilization in the Truman administration, was elected governor. Concerned about the conditions of Ohio's educational, mental-health, and other programs, DiSalle persuaded a Democratic-controlled legislature to give him $155 million more a year in tax revenues. The combination of higher taxes under "Tax Hike Mike" and the bitter factionalism that DiSalle fostered within his own party led to a thumping 555,000-vote victory last fall for Rhodes, the former state auditor.

Although Rhodes clearly defined the standards he felt should guide the expenditure of tax dollars, Ohio was unprepared for the suddenness and the extent of the new governor's austerity program. In his first official act, Finance Director Richard Krabach announced the firing of 3,505 employees hired during the last four months of the DiSalle administration. The former governor was guilty, the Rhodes people charged, of padding the payroll to win votes, even though more than half of those appointed during DiSalle's final 120 days went to state universities, which normally add employees in the fall, and to mental hospitals, which are chronically understaffed.

Despite warnings that ill-planned austerity could cripple important state services, Rhodes and Krabach continued slashing payrolls and expenses with the slogan "Let's Make Saving Contagious." Criticisms of the cutbacks were met bluntly by Krabach: "Those in state government who cannot accommodate themselves to the general belt-tightening dictated by the necessity of our precarious financial situation should be reminded that they can be replaced by persons who can perform the job."

Following the first round of firings, Krabach ordered a 9.1 per cent cut in every department to eliminate a projected state deficit of that magnitude. The cuts included the payroll trimming already under way, but expressed it in terms that encompassed the entire budget. "The major portion came off in personnel," Krabach said later. "At the state universities we cut only janitorial and secretarial help. We couldn't touch the public schools at all. The highway budget has about fifty-five per cent of the money tied up in construction contracts. Naturally you don't touch that. So the 9.1 per cent applies to what's left."

Most department heads responded to Krabach's order with apparent enthusiasm. Attorney General William Saxbe boasted that he cut the cost of his operation fifteen per cent. The State Highway Department canceled orders of $578,000 in equipment ordered during the lame-duck days of Governor DiSalle. Payroll economies of $1.5 million were announced by the Bureau of Unemployment Compensation, which closed district offices in six cities and dismissed 280 employees. The Liquor Control Board trimmed its work force ten per cent, yet lodged twenty per cent more charges against violators than in a comparable period for 1962. The board hopes a new accounting method will save another $40,000 annually. In the Department of Mental Health and Correction, thirteen executives were dismissed and job duplication was ended in the central office at a saving that was said to be $250,000. By July, 1,348 employees were gone, including ten per cent of the professional psychologists and thirteen per cent of the social workers.

Stamp Out Mental Health!

The impact of this somewhat heavy-handed attempt to cut the payroll was particularly severe in the mental-health system. Dr. Edward N. Hinko, superintendent of the Cleveland Psychiatric Institute, told a reporter: "We've had our ups and downs before, but we could always feel things would get better. Today we don't

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feel that way any more. We don't see any light ahead." Dr. Hinko will leave his job November 15 to become the assistant director of Michigan's mental-health program. Dr. Milton W. McCullough, chief psychologist for Ohio, resigned when cuts were announced in his program. Wayne H. Adams, chief social worker, and Thomas J. Clark, head of therapy, were forced out when special education and training programs they supervised were eliminated. All three found new jobs with similar responsibilities in mental-health programs outside Ohio, which have had considerable success this year raiding the staffs of Ohio institutions. On November 16, Dr. Donald W. Martin is quitting as superintendent of the Summit County Receiving Hospital to become head of the Pontiac State Hospital in Michigan.

Although Rhodes continues to assure Ohioans, "We have not curtailed important state services," even before the cutbacks Ohio never came close to the minimum mental-health standards recommended by the American Psychiatric Association. Now other disturbing trends seem to be developing. At Cleveland State Hospital, where two $230-a-month attendants have been charged with manslaughter in the fatal beating of a seventy-nine-year-old patient, austerity has made deep inroads. Superintendent William L. Grover says he feels professional staff members are deserting him. A year ago Cleveland State had built its social-worker staff up to twenty-five. Today twelve remain and only two applications are on hand, both of them from untrained workers.

Fewer patients are going home, and more of those who do appear to be coming back—a fact Dr. Grover links to a staff shortage, "especially the lack of social workers."

The latest available records show 667 employees—a drop of more than eighty in the last year—to care for 2,175 patients at Cleveland State Hospital. Parsimonious legislators and administration officials divide the number of patients by the number of employees, arriving at a ratio that seems impressive. But this procedure ignores the fact that hospital care has to be provided twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week.

Without a Federal grant or some other windfall, the child-development clinic at Children's Hospital in Columbus will close its doors on January 1. The Mental Hygiene Department, under pressure for economy, has withdrawn its $55,000 annual support, which is about ninety per cent of the clinic's operating cost. Mental Hygiene actually cut off most of its support October 1, but money from anonymous donors and Ohio State University will enable it to operate for the rest of the year. The clinic, which is the major diagnostic center in Central Ohio for disturbed younger children, has applied to the National Institutes of Health for a grant to cover its 1964 operations.

SLASHING COSTS wherever he could, Finance Director Krabach reduced the state matching funds to local relief agencies in March from fifty to forty per cent. This economy, Krabach said, would force county relief administrators to reduce relief rolls rather than cut actual payments to recipients. A press-conference suggestion by Welfare Director Denver White that "the counties have the prerogative to raise their share of relief costs" seemed more to the point.

In Cuyahoga County (Cleveland), budget makers said that Rhodes's austerity program would force county taxpayers to shoulder an extra $1,238,000 in welfare costs. A similar warning was sounded in Lucas County (Toledo), where an additional $764,730 will have to come from local tax sources. Officials in Hamilton County (Cincinnati) chose an alternative course by reducing relief checks by $13 a family.

'How Businesslike Can You Get?'

In the aftermath of what was made to seem a dramatic demonstration of the Rhodes administration's ability to protect the taxpayer from the abuses of big government, the governor decided to form the "Council for Reorganization of Ohio State Government." Rhodes picked eighty-eight private management experts whom Ohio newspapers dubbed the "Little Hoover Commission," and he instructed them to find ways to reduce duplication of jobs and improve efficiency. "Look at state government through the eyes of the taxpayers and let the chips fall where they may," the governor exhorted the council members.

Their report is being issued in installments for maximum publicity impact before the legislature reconvenes in December. It is seventy thousand words long, covers thirty-seven agencies of state government, and includes five hundred recommendations for improving economy and efficiency at a potential saving of $35 million annually. Some of the recommendations can be carried out by the governor; others must await action by the legislature.

The first of the reports, released October 1, sought a complete reorganization of the Ohio Department of Natural Resources, plus the establishment of new fees for departmental services (some of which have already been authorized by the legislature), at a total estimated saving of $1,250,000 a year. The department operates ten divisions and employs 1,216 persons. Its functions could be consolidated into four divisions with eighty fewer employees, the council said.

On successive days, Ohio taxpayers learned that the state could save $723,000 by reorganizing the Department of Agriculture and eliminating extension services to urban areas; $706,500 in the Ohio Department of Industrial Relations by doing away with some unneeded services, adjusting fees, and reducing the 225-person staff by seventy; $72,000 at the Ohio State Fair by firing fifteen maintenance workers and using prison labor to repair fairgrounds buildings; $600,000 in the Ohio State Employment Service through cutting a hundred jobs and reducing travel and advertising, and another $1.5 million by reversing a trend, started with the encouragement of the Federal government under the DiSalle administration, of separating unemployment-claims offices from employment-service offices.

Not all of the commission's early reports were applauded, however. A recommendation that the state library be eliminated and its activities distributed among other state agencies renewed a state-wide controversy that first flared in August when the proposal was leaked to reporters. The possible annual savings come to $144,280. "How preposterous!" said the Akron *Beacon-Journal* in an

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editorial. "For a saving that amounts to pennies in relation to the state's budget, a long-valued service of the state would be thrown in the ashcan. This would make Ohio the only state in the Union without a state library. How businesslike can you get. . . ?"

RHODES will probably have little difficulty getting legislative approval of the council's recommendations, since the General Assembly has given him most of what he has asked for. His austerity program was cheered by a generous press and a citizenry that seemed to be in a mood for economy. Moreover, as chief executive of a major industrial state, certain national political benefits accrued to Rhodes, including the inevitable mention as a "favorite son" candidate in 1964. Rhodes, a tall, slightly stooped man of fifty-four with a tendency toward pedestrian speech, brought to the governor's mansion a public-service record that includes terms as auditor and mayor of Columbus before his election as state auditor in 1953. His critics suspect that ever since his gubernatorial defeat in 1954 by Lausche, Rhodes has been methodically preparing for a move into national politics.

Most of his critics object not to his goals but to his methods and what may be, as DiSalle has charged, an inability to discern between economies that reduce waste and duplication and economies that reduce important services. His austerity program, it is pointed out, has often been embellished by statistical tricks to make things seem better or worse than they really are.

For example, monthly payroll figures are compared with those of December, 1962, DiSalle's last month in office, rather than with the corresponding month of the previous year, when seasonal hiring and other factors were similar. Thus, the June 30 state payroll of 55,092 is related to the December, 1962, roster of 59,439, showing a drop of 4,347 state employees in the first six months of the Rhodes administration. Making the normal comparison with June 30, 1962, when the payroll totaled 57,203, would result in the less impressive reduction of 2,111 workers.

Equally disturbing is the claim that Rhodes inherited an $83-million deficit from DiSalle. The source for this charge is an audit by two accounting firms of Ohio's financial position on November 30, 1962. Despite the clamor of newsmen and Democratic legislators for copies of the audit, only those closest to the governor have seen it. A dramatic reference to "the $83-million deficit" is a standard part of nearly every Rhodes address—even though a deficit of any size is impossible under Ohio law, which does not allow state departments to overspend their appropriations.

The audit, so far as can be determined, showed not a deficit but rather unpaid obligations and "encumbrances" for items ordered but not yet billed, the two totaling $83 million. The fact that the audit was made in November is significant. That is the month, traditionally,

when the state has the least cash on hand because of low tax receipts and payments to the Public School Foundation—and Rhodes, a former state auditor, knew this. "A debt is a debt the minute you buy something, but you can't count receipts until you actually have them," as Finance Director Krabach has said.

Selling Ohio

Within the framework of his austerity program, Governor Rhodes set out two major goals: to create two hundred thousand new jobs in Ohio and to balance the budget. His plan for industrial growth was rewritten by the legislature, but it retained the administration's essential ingredient, an industrial-development authority with power to issue bonds and lend money for industrial expansion. The new Department of Development, under Director George Wilson, went right to work selling Ohio to industry.

With unrestrained enthusiasm for this task, Rhodes tends to equate everything to jobs; even a question about education usually draws an answer about industrial growth. But there are those who feel that no matter how much employment the Department of Development produces, it does not hit at the heart of the problem in Ohio: employment is more closely related to education than it is to industrial facilities. They cite the example of California, where new industries have located around that state's extensive and expanding educational plants.

The issue of education raises a central question about the budget, which, at $1.3 billion for the next two years, is in balance and carries the governor's prediction that it will produce an $839,000 surplus by June, 1965. The governor says that the budget was "cut to rock bottom," although he and the General Assembly made certain that seven Ohio veterans' organizations received their usual $270,000, a giveaway package that has been passed out for decades by administrations and legislatures.

The real issue over the budget, it seems, is not whether it is in balance —as required by the Ohio constitution—but whether it provides adequate funds in critical areas. Rhodes's campaign promises alone are testimony that his first budget falls short of making enough state funds available for education, even by his own standards. As a candidate, Rhodes promised that increasing the state's share of public-school support would be "one of the first problems to be taken up after the new administration takes office in January." He talked in terms of $130 million more for public schools in the next two years—a "bare minimum," according to school officials—but only $43 million more actually appeared in the budget. During the budget hearing by the House Finance Committee, E. E. Holt, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, testified that a balanced budget with insufficient funds for education would mean a cutback in eight special educational services, including Ohio's manpower retraining program, research projects on education of the gifted child, and vocational instruction.

The Rhodes budget also falters in the area of higher education. A $21-million increase that will not even cover the cost of added enroll-

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ment at six state universities in the next two years has brought another increase in student fees, already among the highest in the nation for publicly supported institutions. Ohio State raised its tuition to $375, the highest in the Big Ten, to meet a program that included $1.5 million for new staff and faculty and $1.9 million for athletics. And the fees at other state universities are even higher than those at Ohio State.

Commenting on this situation, the U.S. Department of Commerce statistics show that while in per capita figures Ohio is fourteenth among the fifty states in personal income, it is forty-fifth in taxes collected, thirty-fifth in state spending, and forty-seventh in state spending on education.

Rhodes acknowledges that Ohio's need for more state income must be met somehow. His proposals along this line are accompanied by firm denials that they are new or additional taxes, whether they consist of raising the cost of alcoholic beverages or floating large bond issues for capital improvements. A five per cent hike in prices at state liquor stores was rejected by the legislators before they recessed last June. The governor has announced that he will try again when the General Assembly goes back to work in December. "A higher tax or a higher markup—it's a distinction without a difference . . . ," the Akron *Beacon-Journal* editorialized.

Rhodes has enlisted a committee of prominent citizens to help him explain to Ohioans the compelling reasons why a $250-million bond issue must be approved by the voters in November. The money would be earmarked for higher education, arts and recreation, new school buildings, and other badly needed state facilities. To repay the bonds and the interest charges, which may run as high as $125 million, the present cigarette tax would be extended until possibly the year 2000.

Not all ten million Ohioans would be affected by increased liquor or cigarette prices, or even by higher tuition payments, for that matter. But, in an era of expanding governmental budgets and responsibilities, Ohio and its citizens may find that austerity, while politically expedient, can also be expensive.

VIEWS & REVIEWS

House for Sale

A Short Story

JAMES A. MAXWELL

When my Uncle Philip died several years ago, he willed me a six-room frame house on the edge of the business district of Columbus, Ohio. The bequest, I suspect, was motivated less by avuncular affection than by a desire to reform me. Uncle Philip, who had lived in Columbus and had been a devoted dabbler in rental property, had often deplored my lack of interest in owning real estate.

If he had hoped to change my economic ideas, his generous effort was not a complete success. Although my tenant, Parker Watson—also inherited from Uncle Philip—always paid his rent promptly and made only the most modest requests for maintenance, I found that my duties as absentee landlord consumed an inordinate amount of time. Keeping records was only part of the problem. Letter writing was the major burden.

The house was fairly old and subject to constant minor ailments. On each occasion, I would receive a somewhat apologetic note from Watson reporting the difficulty. I would then write to authorize the repair. Early in our relationship, I had written to Watson that I had complete confidence in his judgment, and that prior approval from me would no longer be necessary for any job or replacement costing $25 or less. He had refused to operate on that basis, however. "I won't take responsibility for spending another man's money," he had answered.

In January of this year, I finally nerved myself to face Uncle Philip's beyond-the-grave disapproval, and wrote to Watson asking if he'd be interested in buying the place. For several months I continued to receive the usual letters from him about balky hot-water heaters, leaky laundry tubs, and similar matters, but he ignored my offer to sell.

Finally, in late spring, he wrote that he had been considering my proposal carefully, had arranged with a local building association for financing, and was now ready to go ahead with the deal if my terms had not changed. I telephoned him immediately and we arranged to meet at the office of the loan company's attorney two weeks later to close the transaction.

My plane arrived in Columbus late Wednesday afternoon, and I just had time to check into a hotel and have a hasty dinner before taking a cab to the seven-thirty appointment. En route we passed the house and I was pleased to see that the place seemed to be in excellent condition. The white paint was clean and fresh-looking, windows gleamed, the small plot of grass was lush and neatly trimmed. I hadn't been in the neighborhood since Uncle Philip had taken me on a tour of his various properties some ten years earlier. At that time there had been a number of white families, mostly mountaineers, living in the area. Now I saw nothing but Negroes.

The office of the attorney, Harvey Simpkins, was on the second floor of a converted apartment building about four blocks from the property I was about to sell. Simpkins, a tall, pleasant middle-aged Negro, was in the reception room getting some papers from a file when I came in. We introduced ourselves, and then he led me into his private office, where Mr. and Mrs. Watson were waiting for me.

Both Watsons were considerably

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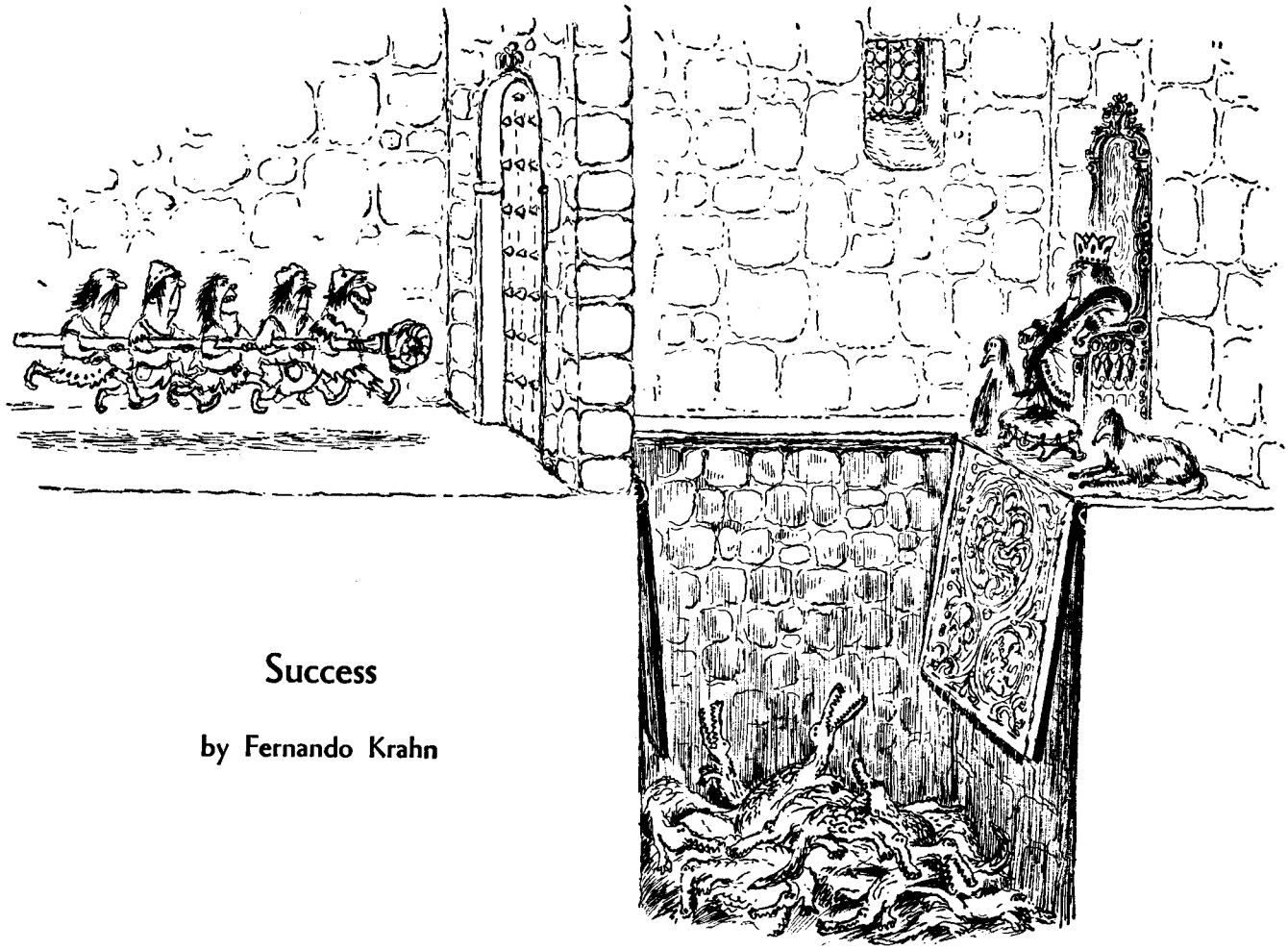

Success

by Fernando Krahn

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Jim Dandy

He diddled the ivory keys.
He babbled in Chimpanzese.
  He dabbled in honey
  And made big money
And gave it all back to the bees.

He twirled a gay guitar.
He smoked the sweetest cigar.
  He lay on the grass
  With the head of the class
And left her all ajar.

He piped once down your lane.
He warbled a randy refrain.
  He plucked a flower
  From your mama's bower
And rode off on a golden cane.

—M. L. ROSENTHAL

darker than the attorney. Watson, a large, muscular man of about forty-five, was wearing a gaily colored sports shirt and jacket which contrasted sharply with his grave, dignified manner when we shook hands. His wife, a slight, nervous woman, only nodded when we were introduced.

Despite Simpkins's informal, friendly air and my own obvious pleasure at concluding my tenure as a landlord, an oddly funereal atmosphere dominated the proceedings. As the attorney read various parts of the agreement, the Watsons exchanged worried glances, and occasionally Watson would shake his head unhappily as though the situation had gone beyond his control.

"Mr. Watson," I finally said, "if you'd like more time to think this matter over, please don't hesitate to say so. Maybe I've rushed you a bit."

"It isn't that," he began.

"And don't be concerned about my coming out here," I said. "I have some other business here in Columbus, and I had to make the trip anyway."

For the first time since I'd met him, he smiled. "We've been wantin' to do this for years," he said. "I just couldn't get up the nerve to ask your uncle or you to sell. It's kind of got us worked up, though, borrowin' all this money and havin' a piece of property in our names. We always pretended that house was ours. Now that it's about to be, I guess we're all of a sudden scared."

Simpkins laughed. "My job would be good training for a marriage broker," he said. "With the people I deal with, the desire to get into the arrangement and the desire to get the hell out of the door are about equal."

MATTERS went smoothly after that, and after the necessary papers had been signed, Simpkins suggested we go to a bar and drink to the transaction. "Good idea," I said. There was a slightly awkward silence from the Watsons, and then he said, "I guess we could stand one or two."

There were about a half-dozen men seated at the bar in the nearby café, and Simpkins led us back to a small adjacent room where there were a few tables. We were the only patrons in that section. When the waitress came to take our orders, she seemed slightly startled to see me.

"Men not of color are rare in the neighborhood these days," Simpkins said after she had gone.

Although the Watsons had little to say, their gloom had completely disappeared, and they seemed interested and amused as Simpkins and I talked about my uncle's eccentricities—Simpkins had known him well—and later about our war experiences.

After about an hour, I ran out of cigarettes and went into the bar to get some from the vending machine. As I started back to the table, a slim, light tan Negro who had glanced at me as I'd gone by, turned on his stool and smiled broadly at me. "Hey, man!" he said. "Good to see you. It's been years."

I went over and shook hands with him. He was slightly drunk, amiable but not focusing altogether clearly. I had no idea who he was, but then my memory for faces is no better than my memory for names, and I assumed I had met the man through my uncle sometime in the past.

"Put on a little weight since the last time I saw you," the man said warmly, "but you look real good."

"Thanks," I said. "How are things going with you?"

"The kids keep me skinny," he said. "Let's see, it's been about ten years since I saw you. I wasn't married then. But I sure am now. Three boys and a girl and they really keep me jumpin'. How you doin' in that department?"

"No children," I said.

"You probably ain't home enough to make 'em," he said with a friendly laugh.

I silently cursed myself for again getting into the awkward position of permitting a conversation to go beyond the point where I could decently ask an unidentified acquaintance his name. Hoping that something will be said which will dispel the fog in such situations is an old weakness of mine. More often than not, the result is mutual embarrassment.

I tried once more. "What are you doing these days?"

He shrugged. "Still pushing a truck for Consolidated," he said. Then he smiled with admiration. "But, man, you really struck it good. Makes me feel fine to see you makin' out." He lifted a shot glass of whiskey in a toast and then tossed it off. "How about havin' one with me?"

"I'd like to," I said, "but I'm with some people in the other room. I suppose I'd better get back to them."

HE PUT HIS HAND on my arm. "Funny as hell I should run into you tonight," he said. "When I saw in the papers last week that you're in town, I thought maybe I'd

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call you down at the club and leave a message where you could reach me."

"The papers?" I said with bewilderment. "I wasn't here. . . ."

"Then I thought, what the hell, maybe the people you work for don't know what's up and you don't want to see any of the guys from around here." He winked understandingly. "I mean you and me used to know each other, but we wasn't real buddy-buddy, so I figure you don't owe me nothin'. Why should I louse you up if you got other ideas?"

The conversation had suddenly become completely opaque to me and I tried unsuccessfully to ease my arm from his grasp. "I really have to get back to my friends," I said.

He pulled me toward him and lowered his voice to a whisper. "How you like passin'?" he asked.

"How do I like what?"

"Passin'," he said. "Havin' any trouble?"

I laughed. "O.K.," I said, "what's the gag?"

"Quit playin' it cool," he said impatiently, but in the same low voice. "Hell, it don't make no difference to me. Lot of people around here spit on a man who does it, but I say it's up to a guy to make up his own mind. Maybe I would, too, if I could get away with it."

I realized now that the man was not joking. "Look," I said, "you must have me mixed up with. . . ."

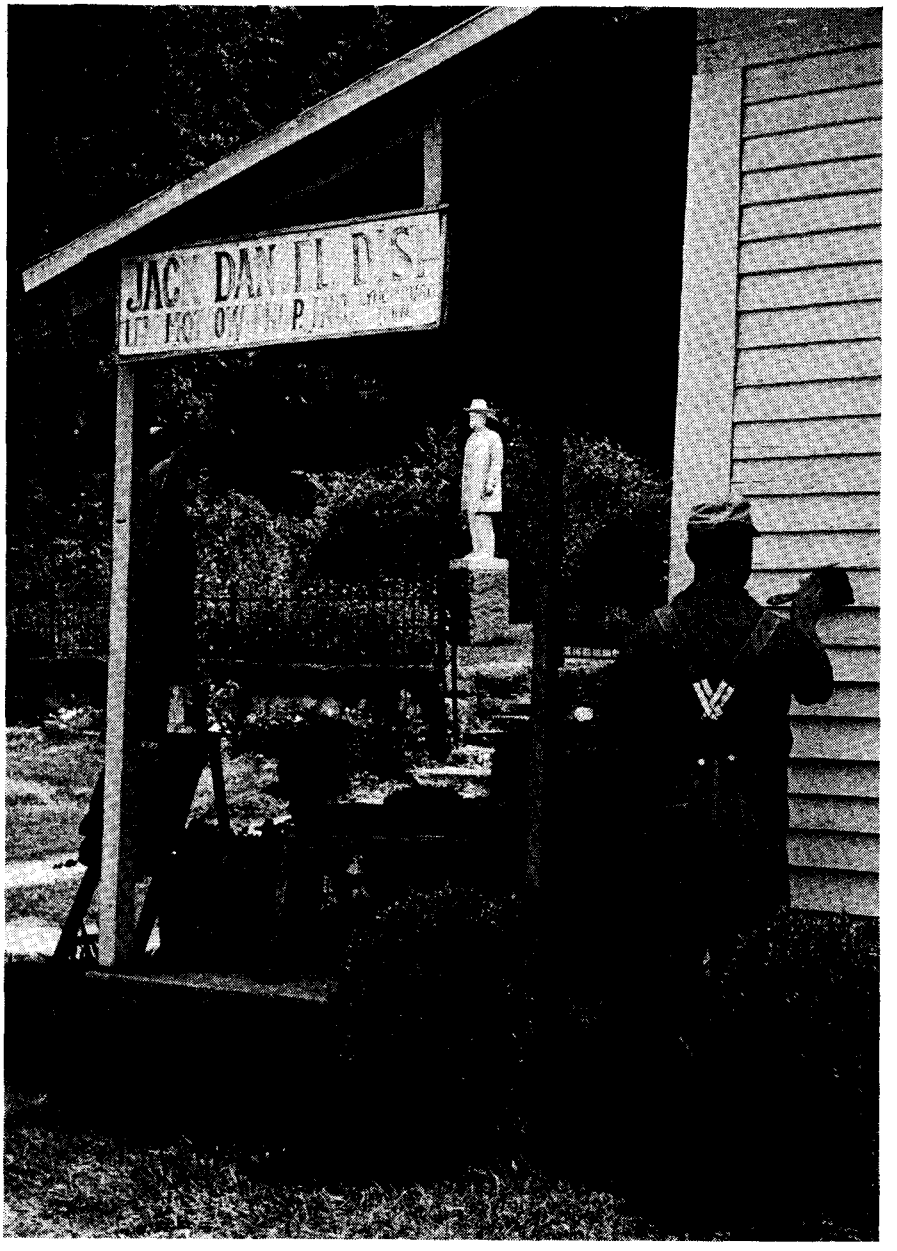
"Take it easy, man," he said coldly. "You wanna pass? O.K. But don't try givin' the brush to people who use to know you." I glanced up and saw that the bartender and the patrons were looking at us with interest. My throat began to feel dry.

"Please listen to me," I said. "I should have admitted right away that I don't know you, but I didn't and I apologize. You do have me confused with someone else, though."

"Jesus," he said loudly and with deep contempt. "A two-bit singer playin' a white night club with your pitcher in the paper and all that crap, so now you're too good for your own people."

"I'm not a singer," I said desperately, "and I just got in town today. You've just made a mistake."

There was a mixture of deep humiliation and bitter anger in his eyes as he shoved my arm away from



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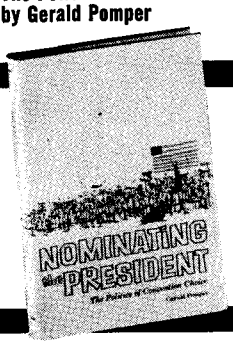

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him. "Go back to the ofays," he said. "You make a man ashamed of his race." Then he swung savagely around and faced the bar.

Suddenly, making this man believe me became overwhelmingly important. "I can prove who I am," I said almost in a shout. I fumbled for my billfold. "Look, driver's license, credit cards, just look at them. Come back to the other room. The people there will tell you who I am." He gulped another drink, but he didn't turn around. The other customers stared at me without expression.

THEN the bartender was standing next to me. "If you guys want to argue race," he said in harsh, clipped tones, "do it out in the street."

All at once, I felt an idiotic desire to laugh. This wasn't *really* happening. It was one of those mistaken-identity scenes from an old-fashioned musical comedy. But a slightly sick feeling quickly replaced the fantasy.

"We're not arguing race," I said. "He thinks I'm. . . ."

"Nobody asked you to come in here," he said. "Go back to your table."

When I returned to the back room, Simpkins and the Watsons looked at me stonily. Obviously they had heard the loud voices. "Trouble?" Simpkins said.

"No," I said. "Not really. A man mistook me for someone else."

"Seemed like a lot of fuss for just that," Watson said.

The bartender came up to the table and put down four drinks. "After you have these, you better go," he said flatly to Simpkins, who paid him.

"I'm sorry about the disturbance," I said, "but if you'll let me. . . ." The bartender walked away.

"I guess it's about time for us to get home anyway," Watson said.

"Let's go now, Parker," Mrs. Watson said, and for a moment I thought she was going to cry.

"Finish your drinks first," Simpkins said. Then he looked at me and gave a short laugh. "Maybe the bartender thinks we're staging a white sit-in."

"I truly regret having embarrassed you," I said, "but it really wasn't my fault."

"We shouldn't of brought you here," Watson said.

"The place has nothing to do with it!" I said, and I realized my voice was becoming edgy. "A man—someone I've never seen before—thought he knew me. I went along with the situation for a couple of minutes, but when I finally had to tell him he was mistaken, he became angry. He *is* slightly drunk."

"Why did you bother to correct him, then?" Simpkins said. He asked the question as though he were a lawyer in a courtroom and I were a witness.

"Because I realized I had to straighten out the error," I said. "He thought I was some singer he used to know who's playing at a local night club." The two men waited, obviously expecting more. Mrs. Watson looked down at her lap. "Well, then, he—the man at the bar—wanted to know how I liked 'passing,' and I tried to tell him. . . ." All at once, a sense of total defeat wrapped itself around me like a thick, soggy blanket.

Now only Simpkins was looking at me. "Why didn't you say so immediately?" he said with heavy irony. "The tarbrush! Now what white man wouldn't be ready to fight after an insult like that?"

My legs felt unsteady when I stood up. "I'd better go," I said. "Mr. and Mrs. Watson, I hope you'll be happy with the house."

When I walked through the barroom, the man who thought he knew me was still there. He didn't look around.

I WAITED OUTSIDE for a cab for several minutes, but none came along, and I started to walk toward my hotel. The night was quiet. Only a few cars and pedestrians were on the streets.

I stopped momentarily as I was passing the house I had sold. It looked clean, neat and prim in the middle of the small, formal lawn like a young girl in a white party dress posing for a photograph. I wondered how the place was furnished, but there were no lights inside, and the windows, mirroring the street lamps, permitted only one-way viewing. Although I knew the Watsons weren't there, I had the uncomfortable feeling they were watching me with disapproval as I tried to see into their home.

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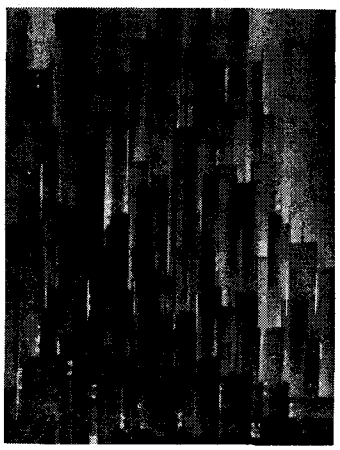

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BOOKS

JFK: Bricks and Broken Glass

JOHN P. ROCHE

JOHN F. KENNEDY, PRESIDENT, by Hugh Sidey. *Atheneum. $6.95.*

J.F.K. THE MAN AND THE MYTH, by Victor Lasky. *Macmillan. $7.95.*

If a reader began his exploration of the character of President Kennedy with Hugh Sidey, he might find Victor Lasky a relief. Although Sidey's book is not without a certain hagiographical charm, it leaves the intelligent political observer wondering how any man can possibly confine so much virtue, decisiveness, firmness, candor, realism, and dedication in one personality. Sidey presents Lasky with a perfect straw man. Indeed, the two books fit together perfectly in an abstract, nonpolitical universe—and on the level of reality neither tells us much about John F. Kennedy: Hero *or* Demon.

On the other hand, one who began his education with James MacGregor Burns's *John Kennedy: A Political Profile* (Harcourt, Brace, 1959) will find Lasky's *J.F.K.* quite tendentious. While Burns was friendly to Kennedy, his criticism was sharp and incisive, even more telling perhaps because Burns was simply describing what he saw. I rather suspect that when Burns said "This fear of making too much of a commitment, of going off the intellectual deep end, is locked in Kennedy's character," he gave us a greater insight into the President's "inner life" than is contained in Lasky's endless polemic.

What Lasky has written is an antibiography in a tradition established by John T. Flynn's assault on Franklin D. Roosevelt. His book is not about John F. Kennedy—it is about what people have said about the President. A perverse exercise in the sociology of knowledge, *J.F.K.* has some of the attributes of a bad Ph.D. dissertation. It is as though someone had devoted years to collecting all the *sotto voce* gossip about a public figure and then, with fixated fairness, balanced charges of authoritarianism against accusations of weakness without ever verifying the truth or falsity of any given statement. When we enter Lasky's world, we find ourselves in an environment where nothing ever happens but where all kinds of things are *said* to have happened. Lieutenant Kennedy was *said* to have been brave, but some were *said* to have wondered how he could have managed to get a PT boat rammed by a destroyer. "Widespread concern" is always being expressed in Laskyland—about Harvard professors, about Senator Kennedy's absenteeism, and above all about Poppa and his money.

THEN there is the "curious, still-unexplained development," like the rumored marriage of John F. Kennedy and Durie Malcolm Desloge. Now in the rational world where most of us live there is general agreement on what constitutes a "fact," but in Laskyland (where the organizing principles seem to be out of Kafka by Joseph R. McCarthy) we go off into the following dream sequence: First, in 1957 Louis Blauvelt published a family genealogy in which it was stated that Durie married John F. Kennedy; second, Blauvelt, "a professional genealogist," died and left no confirmatory evidence; third, Durie, when questioned, denied the connection; fourth, President Kennedy indirectly denied the connection; fifth, nobody, anywhere, could find any evidence (and the newspapermen were panting after it). At this point we unimaginative types would conclude that Louis Blauvelt had stripped a

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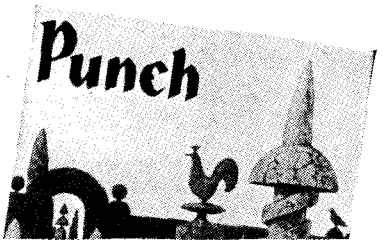

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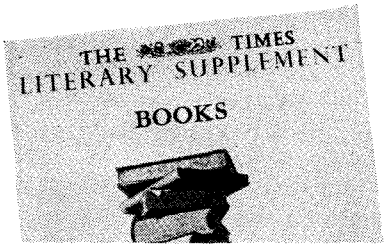

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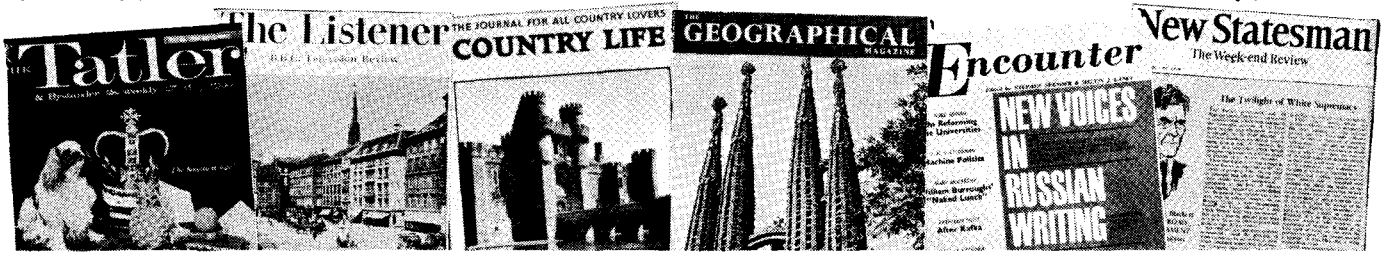

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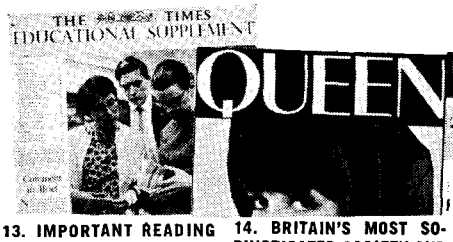

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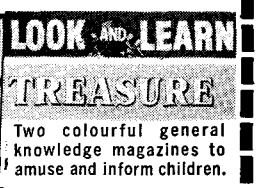

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Puzzle #87

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Acrostician—

HYMAN G. RICKOVER

genealogical gear, but Lasky is not so easily subdued by stubborn nonfacts. He concludes his treatment of the subject with a quote from the *Times* story which in turn quoted James N. Blauvelt, "president of the Association of Blauvelt Descendants" (a solid nonsource), as stating, "I am sure that Louis Blauvelt could not have put it in his book unless he were sure of his facts." And on a note of triumph Lasky concludes: "And thus was born one of the Capital's biggest mysteries."

As far as the substance of American politics is concerned, Lasky is apparently a man without opinions. He feels deeply for Hubert Humphrey in his defeat in the 1960 primaries, and quotes the Minnesota senator at some length on the undemocratic character of the Kennedy juggernaut. Lasky seems to take a very dim view of the role of money in winning elections—indeed, one sometimes gets the impression that John Kennedy was the first Presidential candidate who ever went into a campaign with a full war chest, and that the poor, poverty-stricken Republicans were drowned in a deluge of cash. He really believes that it was shameful the way Kennedy, on a different level, conned the nice, naïve liberals.

But he is impartial: Kennedy has also tricked the barefoot American farmers, those simple-minded, honest sons of the soil, and he sadly let down the McCarthyites, who were counting on him for great things. Lasky is, in short, Everyman's sympathetic buddy—so long as Everyman is said to be distressed by some alleged injustices at the hands of John F. Kennedy, Robert Kennedy, Teddy Kennedy, Joseph P. Kennedy, Rose Kennedy, Sargent Shriver, Eunice Shriver, Jacqueline Kennedy, Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., or Harvard University.

Since Laskyland is mirror country, there is a huge pile of broken glass after six hundred pages of brick-throwing. But it is a tale of villainy without a clear-cut villain; somewhere in Laskyland there roams an evil banshee, but one never comes to grips with him. There is nothing but a succession of faces in ferociously shattered mirrors, and a human being named John Fitzgerald Kennedy emerges with no new scars. Indeed, one can visualize J.F.K. sardonically smiling at all this brouhaha. Throwing mud at those in power is an ancient custom, but it is, of course, a loser's entertainment.

A Free Man In Prison

ELIE ABEL

Montenegro, by Milovan Djilas. Translated, and with an introduction by Kenneth Johnstone. *Harcourt, Brace & World. $5.75.*

To Milovan Djilas, one of the most celebrated political prisoners of our time, prisons are the true expression of any régime—monarchist, fascist, or Communist. By their prisons he has learned to know them. In this book, Djilas is writing about the last days of the ramshackle Montenegrin monarchy (and of one victim, whom he chooses to call Petar Zuric): "He got to know its bad side, its essence, in its prisons—the place where every government and every system shows itself as it is, with no adornments and no big words, without its past glories or its future ideals, through the daily contact between prisoners and jailers."

Is it unfair to read into this and other reflections he attributes to Zuric in 1916 a contemporary judgment by the prisoner Milovan Djilas? I think not. It was the Tito régime that made Djilas an authority on prisons. If he survives, he will be sixty years old when his present term is fully served, in 1971. Djilas started going to prison for his ideas back in the 1930's, when he was a fiery young Communist agitator at the University of Belgrade. The prewar régime (invariably styled monarcho-fascist by Djilas himself in those days) walled him up in a gloomy, unheated Serbian state prison near the market town of Sremska Mitrovica. Barring one brief interruption, the prison has been his home since November, 1956, under Tito. His crime consists in having written—and published outside Yugoslavia—two outspoken books, *The New*

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THE REPORTER Puzzle

Acrostickler No. 88

by HENRY ALLEN

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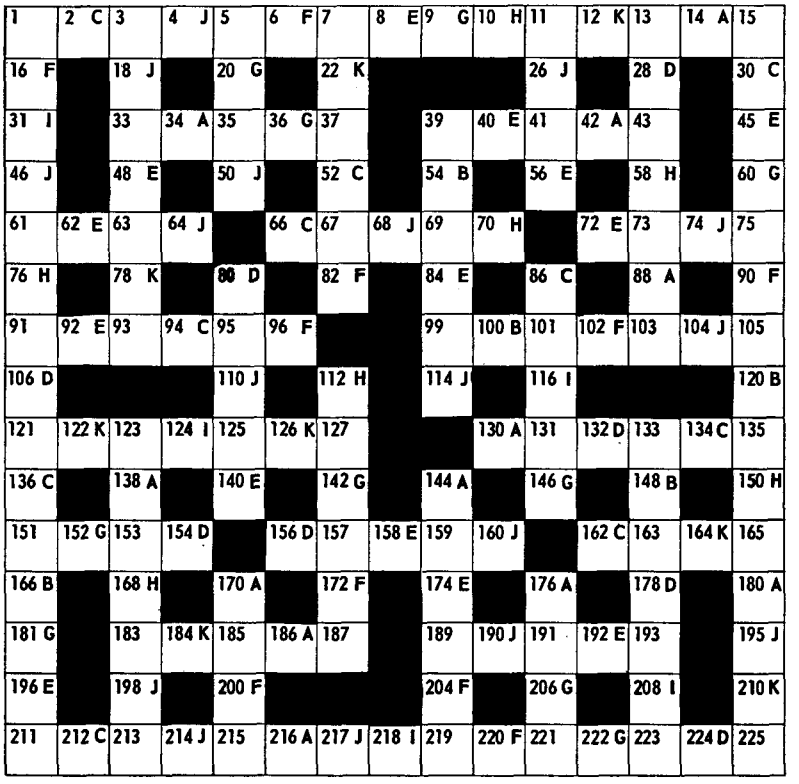
DIRECTIONS

1) Each crossword definition contains two clues. One is a conventional synonym; the other a pun, anagram, or play on words.
2) Letters from the acrostic should be transferred to the corresponding squares in the crossword, and vice versa.
3) The initial letters of the correct words in the acrostic will, when read down, spell out the name of a prominent person: the Acrostician.



A. $\overline{176}\ \overline{42}\ \overline{34}\ \overline{88}\ \overline{144}\ \overline{14}\ \overline{130}\ \overline{170}\ \overline{138}\ \overline{216}$ $\overline{186}\ \overline{180}$ Allan Quatermain, for example (6,6).

B. $\overline{100}\ \overline{54}\ \overline{120}\ \overline{148}\ \overline{166}$ "His legs bestrid the ——." Shakespeare, "Antony and Cleopatra."

C. $\overline{212}\ \overline{134}\ \overline{136}\ \overline{94}\ \overline{2}\ \overline{162}\ \overline{30}\ \overline{52}\ \overline{66}\ \overline{86}$ A large, swift African antelope.

D. $\overline{154}\ \overline{106}\ \overline{80}\ \overline{224}\ \overline{156}\ \overline{132}\ \overline{28}\ \overline{178}$ A drug used by the ancients to drown pain and sorrow.

E. $\overline{45}\ \overline{92}\ \overline{8}\ \overline{158}\ \overline{196}\ \overline{40}\ \overline{62}\ \overline{56}\ \overline{192}\ \overline{48}\ \overline{84}\ \overline{140}$ $\overline{72}\ \overline{174}$ What early Arctic explorers might have celebrated with (8,6).

F. $\overline{16}\ \overline{172}\ \overline{6}\ \overline{220}\ \overline{200}\ \overline{90}\ \overline{102}\ \overline{204}\ \overline{82}\ \overline{96}$ Cape Canaveral or Vandenberg Air Force Base (6,4).

G. $\overline{36}\ \overline{206}\ \overline{20}\ \overline{146}\ \overline{9}\ \overline{181}\ \overline{60}\ \overline{222}\ \overline{152}\ \overline{142}$ What a distant relative of Word C masticates with (5,5).

H. $\overline{150}\ \overline{70}\ \overline{112}\ \overline{168}\ \overline{58}\ \overline{76}\ \overline{10}$ A garland or wreath hanging in a curve.

I. $\overline{208}\ \overline{124}\ \overline{31}\ \overline{116}\ \overline{218}$ "But yet a—— in partition; / Two lovely berries moulded on one stem." Shakespeare, "A Midsummer Night's Dream."

J. $\overline{195}\ \overline{68}\ \overline{18}\ \overline{214}\ \overline{114}\ \overline{50}\ \overline{74}\ \overline{26}\ \overline{104}\ \overline{190}\ \overline{4}$ $\overline{160}\ \overline{110}\ \overline{46}\ \overline{217}\ \overline{198}\ \overline{64}$ An acquaintance of the Acrostician (7,4-6).

K. $\overline{184}\ \overline{22}\ \overline{164}\ \overline{78}\ \overline{126}\ \overline{12}\ \overline{210}\ \overline{122}$ That which deprives a compound of hydrogen (Brit. sp.).

ACROSS

1. Is the fern set? Medicine for the job of one once associated with the Acrostician (7,8).
33. Metal bar found in Gotham area!
39. Not to be obscure but rub.
61. Gives birth in a sane way.
66. Trap 61 across with a point.
72. Did you addle my aunt, poor fish?
91. To cuddle in the finest leather chairs.
99. One may be able to adore his prow anyhow.
121. To faint with small credit may make one distracted.
130. Many have been burned by this vehicle, but it's not necessarily the temperature (3,3).
151. This variant of the Egyptian solar disc seems awfully heavy.
156. The wanderer used Pidgin English to say he's not angry.
162. Vivacity often goes with Con in the musical world.
183. The beginning of 130 across with the Spanish lodging house.
189. Show contempt for food when it's slang.
211. Warm friend of the Acrostician (9,6).

DOWN

1. With a nice raft in Dover one may cause one to go wild! (5,3,7).
3. Fred's in a way to have pals.
5. Martyred Hungarian Premier otherwise known as Angy.
7. The area that was formerly a camping shelter?
11. In or about to press.
13. The grotto has H_2O, but not to go from one side to the other.
15. The free are prompter, perhaps, than this one you can see again (6,9).
39. How I write with a pointed instrument last.
80. A bit of latitude in an afterthought gives charts dear to real-estate men.
86. A group of people found up in poor times at home.
112. An 86 down of fish that's cool. Sh, man!
123. 151 across gets mixed up with her and someone else.
133. Put fuel in the car but be cautious.
144. Elsa is a girl who came home and is doggy on TV.
170. Indians hide in the minutes of the last meeting.
176. The French I hold all right is something funny.

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or 12 months.

Translated:
This is a 12-month subscription that expires in September 1963.

Class and *Conversations with Stalin*.

Djilas, the authority on prisons, also knows something about revolutionary ideals and their betrayal. "An idea," he writes, "is beautiful until it wins." He is talking of the so-called Serb Idea, the hope for a union of all Serbs which excites many of the figures in this narrative. "The Idea is noble of itself," Djilas observes. "Carried out, it becomes squalid, greedy, violent. It is no longer an idea."

Montenegro is part history, part fiction. It has more in common with Djilas's boyhood memoir, *Land Without Justice*, than with the political writings that keep landing him in Sremska Mitrovica. Here Djilas uses fictional devices to retell the painful story of his homeland.

THE BOOK has three parts, connected in theme though each can stand alone. Part I is more history than fiction, an account of the climactic battle at Mojkovac against the invading Austrians in 1916. This was the last stand of the Montenegrin clansmen and—like so many cherished moments in the history of the South Slavs—a shattering defeat. There was no lack of valor among these tough mountaineers. To this day, Montenegrins esteem battle wounds as the supreme badge of honor. But defeat was preordained.

Part II brings us to the Austrian occupation and the pitiless efforts of a Serbian quisling to break the will of three condemned Montenegrin patriots. Part III, after allied victory and the establishment of a united Yugoslavia, shows the Serb Idea turning squalid once it has won.

There is no trace in this, Djilas's first prison book to be published, of the approved cultural commissar's style that marred some pages of *The New Class*. In sketching the downfall of the two Montenegrin chieftains sent to rule the border provinces, he has little to say about class antagonisms and historical inevitability. Oddly for one schooled in the Marxist canon, he fastens on the corrupting effects of lust and power, the imperfections of human character. Enforced leisure may have helped to transform a somewhat ponderous Marxist pamphleteer into a genuine writer.

Attack On an Idol

KENNETH S. LYNN

HENRY JAMES AND THE JACOBITES, by Maxwell Geismar. *Houghton Mifflin. $7.*

In the good old 1930's, so runs Mr. Geismar's song, American life was healthy and exciting. It was an age of political realism, of "social concern and radical belief"—and of well-deserved literary obscurity, *par conséquent*, for that sexually twisted "biopsychic phenomenon," that baroquely reactionary, shamelessly ambitious social climber and expatriate snob whose notion of the artist's function was "to teach the rich how to use their money better," that rare and exotic cross between "magician" and "monster," Henry James. From the mid-forties on, however, James's novels and stories were "discovered" and elevated to an honored place in the pantheon of world literature. This new estimate of his achievement was, alas, again symptomatic of the quality of our national life. For the years of James's ascendancy constituted the era of "McCarthyism, Birchism, Walkerism, of governmental purges and investigations," in which panicky intellectuals found it expedient to renounce the radicalism of their youth and to attach themselves to "a new and sterile literary conservatism" that was utterly divorced from "real life." In an America enveloped in fantasies, it was perhaps only natural that literary critics should have succumbed to a taste for James's ghost stories, for the stylistic complexities of the late-Jamesian manner that—like Senator McCarthy's speeches—concealed more than they revealed, and for all the other obfuscatory tricks in the Old Pretender's pack. Yet in praising these tricks as great art, the critics of the postwar period perpetrated upon the American reading public the greatest hoax in the history of literary reputations—a hoax which it is now the single-minded purpose of *Henry James and the Jacobites* to expose and destroy.

Besides being coarse-grained in its mode of expression, vulgar in its hu-

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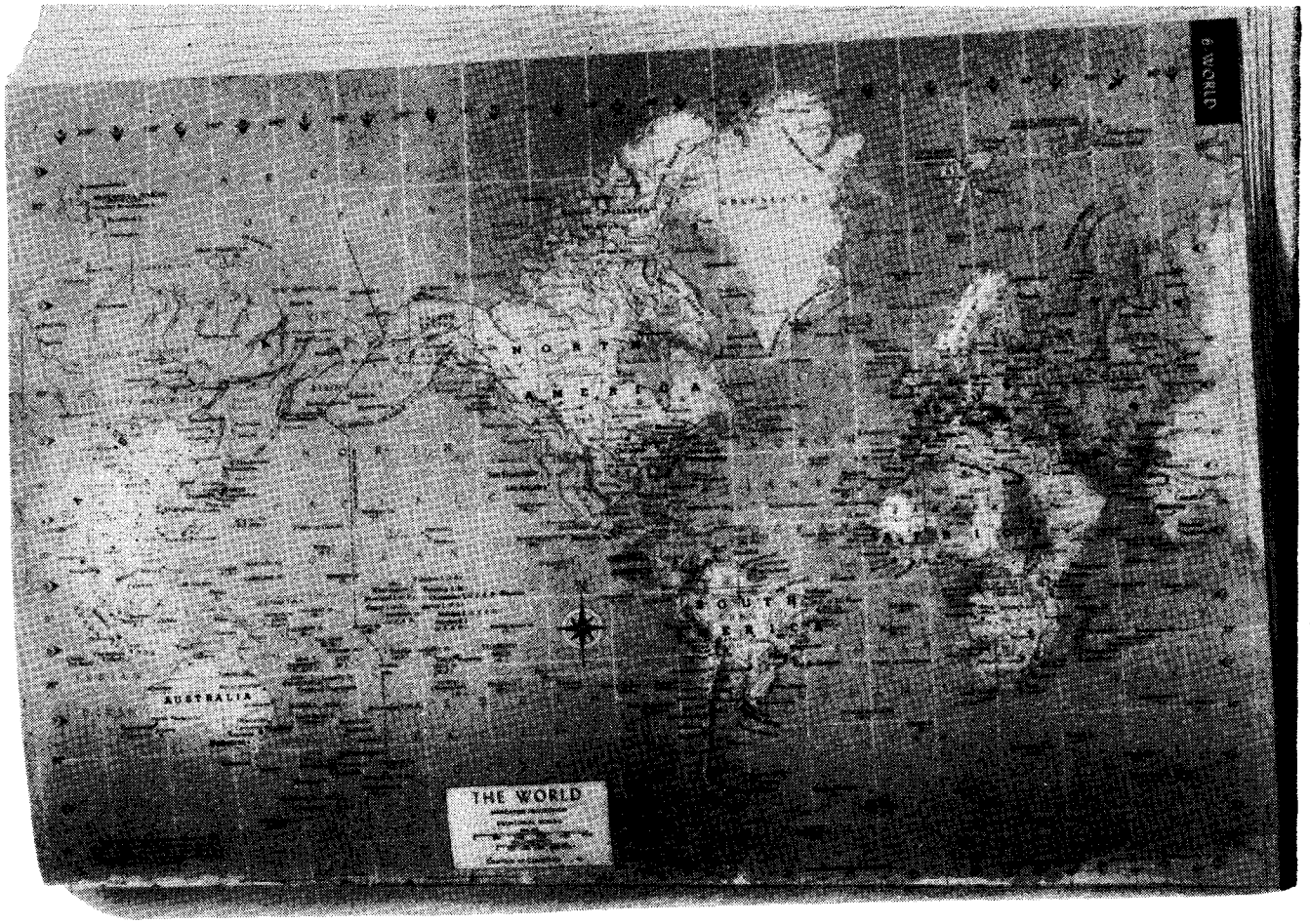

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Africa	11,850,000	225,000,000			34, 35
Alabama, U.S.A.	51,060	3,266,740	*Montgomery*	M 6	43
Alaska, U.S.A.	586,400	226,167	Juneau	F 8	42
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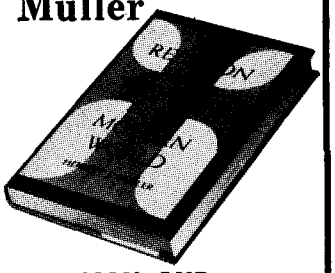

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mor, and utterly contemptible in the innuendoes it makes about the private lives of some of the most distinguished men of letters of our time (not to mention the aspersions cast upon James's psyche), Mr. Geismar's argument suffers from the additional defect of being factually wrong in all its most vital particulars.

To begin with, it is misleading to speak of James being "discovered," as if he were another Melville, for the simple reason that he has never been lost. By the time he was forty years old, James was acknowledged by reviewers on both sides of the Atlantic to be one of the great novelists of the English-speaking world. (One of his most enthusiastic admirers was William Dean Howells, a writer whom Mr. Geismar respects—but not to the point of being willing to quote his judgments of James.) While it is true that the masterpieces of his later years—*The Ambassadors, The Wings of the Dove,* and *The Golden Bowl*—proved to be caviar to the general, the fact that a New York publisher, in the years between 1907 and 1909, was willing to underwrite the publication of *The Novels and Tales of Henry James* in twenty-four volumes thoroughly belies Mr. Geismar's contention that the only fans James had left at the end of his life were "a little coterie of esthetes."

Following his death in 1916 and through the twenties, James began to attract a new generation of readers, as the letters of F. Scott Fitzgerald, the poems of T. S. Eliot, and the course catalogues of our major universities can testify. But it was in the thirties that the Jamesian boom really began, a boom that would eventually make him even more widely read than he had been during his lifetime. This was the period in which F. O. Matthiessen rebuked Granville Hicks for his failure to make James a part of *The Great Tradition,* arguing that James's work was the master link between Hawthorne and Eliot. This was the period, too, in which Leon Edel, Edmund Wilson, Newton Arvin, R. P. Blackmur, and many others made clear the contemporary relevance of James's work.

These "Jacobites" of the thirties were radicals and liberals, without a single important exception, and unless one counts—as Mr. Geismar apparently does—a sustained enthusiasm for the Communist Party as the *sine qua non* of leftism, they remained so. Although they admired James for many other reasons having little to do with politics or economics, they also found him exciting because of the penetrating critique his books offered of the social order he knew.

Mr. Geismar contends that other American writers who visited England, including Jack London and Theodore Dreiser, were quick to note the elements of social misery, but that Henry James (whose "feudal royalism" went "beyond that of the British ruling class itself") simply closed his eyes in horror. Nothing could be further from the truth. As early as *Transatlantic Sketches* (1875), we find James commenting on "the steady rumble of that deep key-note of English manners, overscored so often, and with such sweet beguilement, by finer harmonies, but never extinguished—the 'struggle for existence.'" Gifted, as his idol Balzac was, with the ability to discern the greed behind the glamor of the modern city, James called attention all his writing life to the social reality that encompassed him.

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By Walter M. Merrill. This new evaluation of the fiery abolitionist's place in history, hailed as "excellent biography and first rate scholarship" *(Washington Post),* is as disturbingly apt for 1963 as Garrison's own words when urged to be moderate in his attacks on slavery: *"Tell a man whose house is on fire to give a moderate alarm; tell him to moderately rescue his wife from the hands of the ravisher . . . but urge me not to use moderation in a cause like the present."* $8.75

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Schweppes tonic in a Hathaway shirt beside a Rolls-Royce in Puerto Rico, could surely have turned out a more winsome first paragraph than I have. But in my own defense I will say that in describing the Ogilvy phenomenon I have managed to include a great many of the "powerful words" he himself recommends in his chapter on "How to Write Potent Copy." Many of the recommendations I ran across in his book surprised me—"If you want to attract women readers," he notes, "your best bet is to use a photograph of a *baby*"—since it had always seemed to me that the Ogilvy cachet was sophistication, humor, and a lordly rejection of all the more obvious devices of hucksterism. But the main thing that struck me about the *Confessions* was not Mr. Ogilvy's contempt for hucksterism; it was his very considerable mastery of that rugged sport.

This well-born Scot, who got his education at Oxford and as a chef under the great Pitard at the Hotel Majestic in Paris, may seem somewhat out of place on Madison Avenue. But as one of his compatriots once remarked with evident satisfaction, he has "beaten the Americans at their own favorite and frantic profession." It's like that wonderful scene in an old British movie where Rex Harrison cautions a heavyweight mucker who has struck the first blow, "Careful, damn you, I'm rather good at this sort of thing," and proceeds to deliver one well-aimed knockout punch. A gentleman, as the old saying has it, can beat a ruffian any day.

How has Mr. Ogilvy done it? His book may be somewhat more confessional than he intended. For beneath the tone of modest self-effacement that typifies the best ads turned out by Ogilvy, Benson & Mather, we are shown here a self-confidence that comes very close to what in other advertising tycoons has often been called arrogance. "I am a martinet," he declares lightly on page 10, and by the time you've reached page 164 you know he isn't kidding. With no evident embarrassment he prints a tribute from a former employee ("You invented me and have taught me how much I do not know") on the same page with Lord Alanbrooke's remarks on

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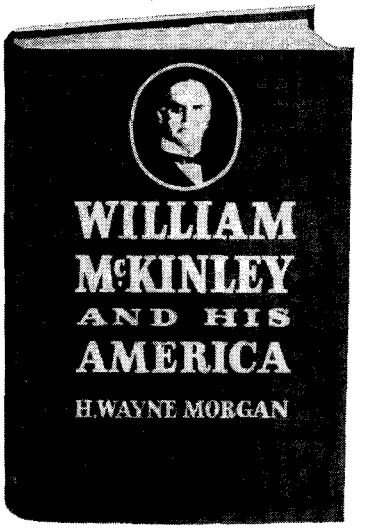
Churchill (". . . I thank God that I was given the opportunity of working alongside of such a man, and of having my eyes opened to the fact that occasionally such supermen exist on this earth").

But there is no shortage of egotism in the advertising industry, and while that commodity is apparently essential in providing the kind of vitality that makes men excel in such a competitive field, it is clear that Mr. Ogilvy is a good deal more than a conceited amateur. The book also reveals the sinews of the most disciplined professionalism. Indeed, it is knowing his subject far more thoroughly than many of his competitors that has enabled him to make a discovery that actually does deserve to be described as revolutionary. It is so important that I don't see why he gives it away, as he does in this book. Of course, despite the novelty of his discovery, it is scarcely something he could get a patent on. What he has understood is simply this: extravagant claims and all the other excesses of vulgarity are extremely inefficient ways to sell a product; the ad that sells is the ad that gives the most information about a product in the simplest, clearest, and most believable form.

If these standards are also those of good taste, so much the better. But what Mr. Ogilvy is after, he emphasizes again and again, is pushing his clients' wares, not winning the approval of a lot of puritanical defenders of culture who would like to abolish advertising anyway. With what I take to be a subtle mixture of cynicism and common sense, Mr. Ogilvy states at one point his conviction that "it pays to make all your layouts project a feeling of good taste, provided that you do it unobtrusively." That last disdainful clause is clearly meant to suggest that even good taste—the Ogilvy hallmark—can become a useless gimmick if it is adopted as an end in itself.

At sixty miles an hour the loudest noise you hear is the ticking of the Ogilvy brain calculating the best way to make you buy something you may not have even known you needed. It's a little disconcerting, but I know damned well that if I had some soap to sell I'd ask Mr. Ogilvy to help me sell it.



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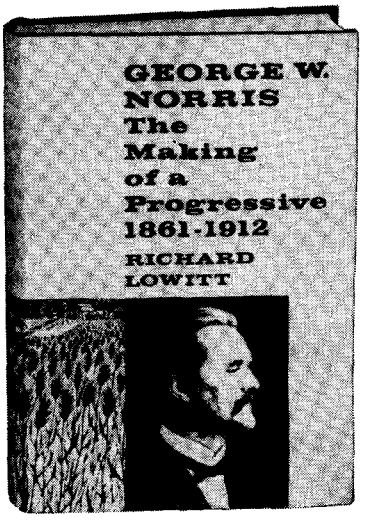

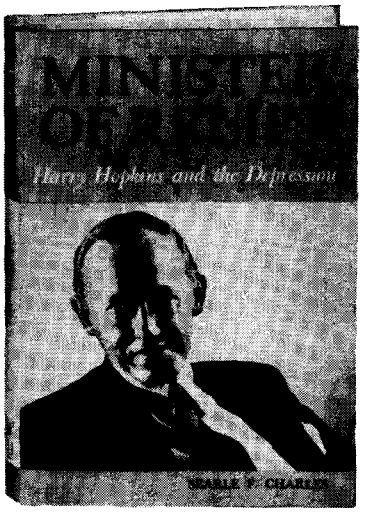

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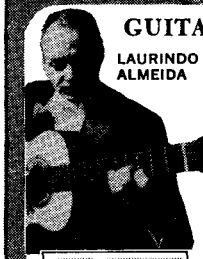

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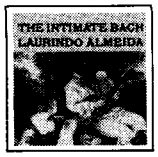

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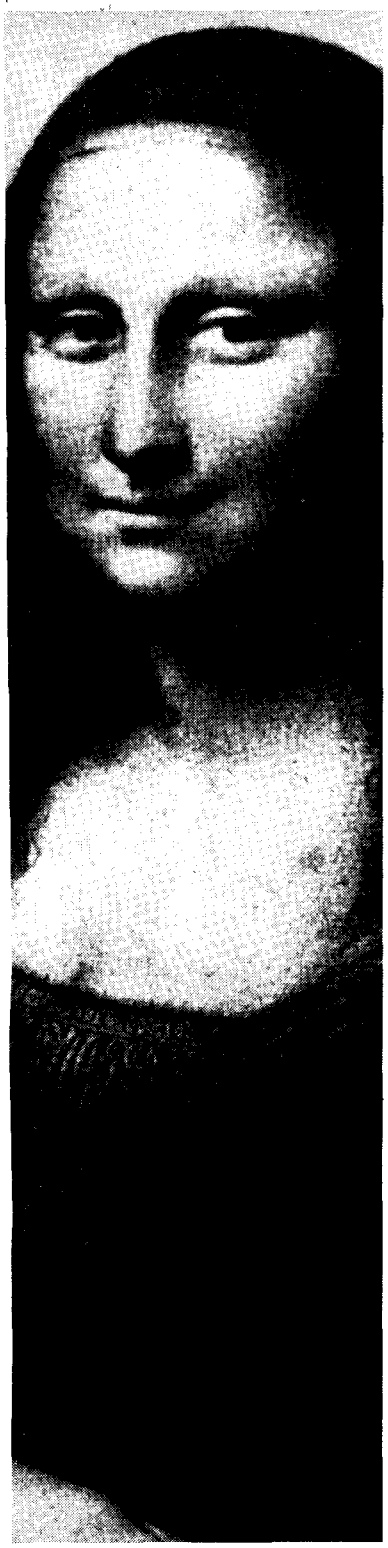

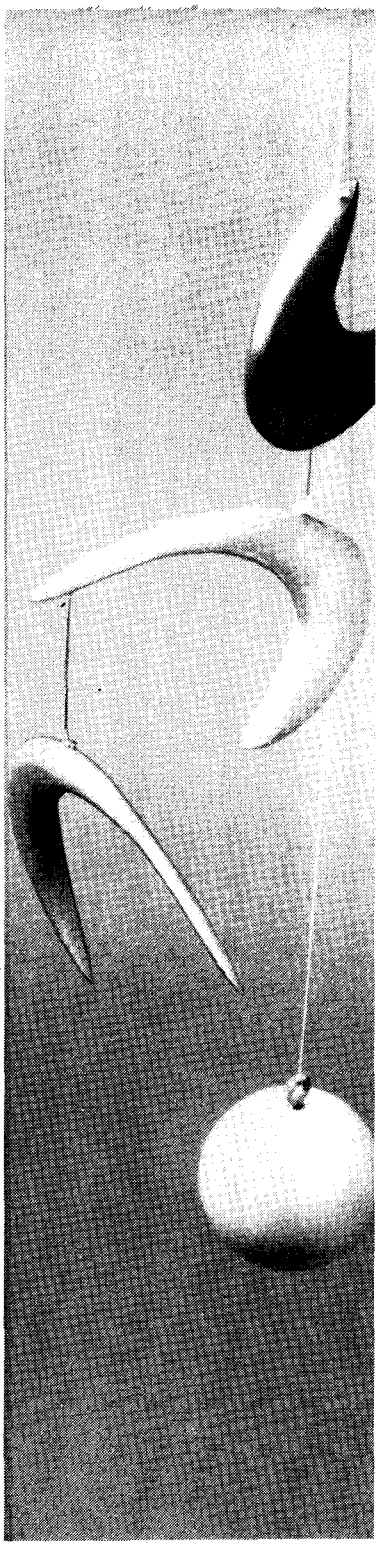

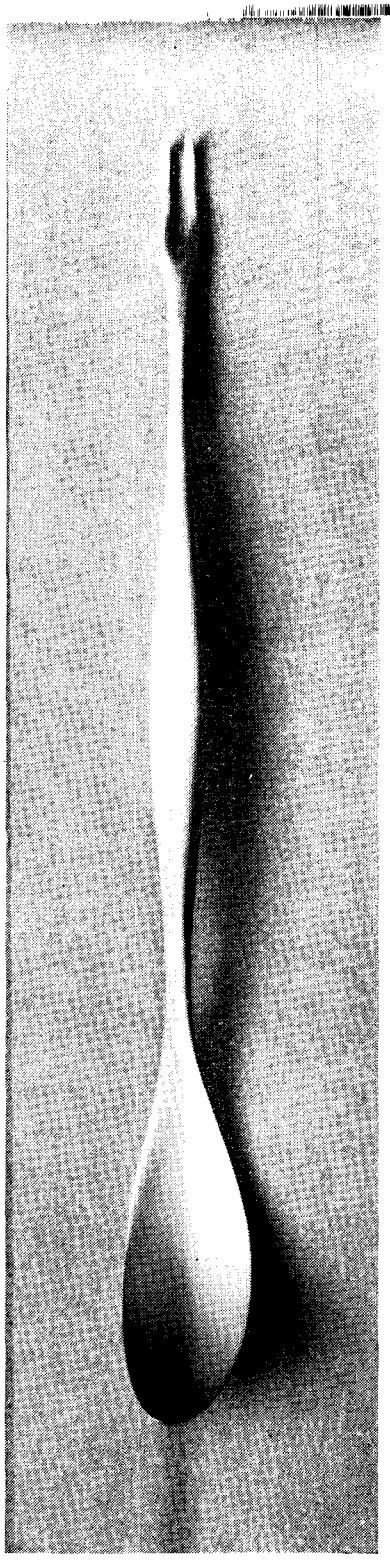

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